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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

A MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS OF STUDENT ACTIVISM  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The undersigned hereby gives this day, and recommends  
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a dissertation  
entitled "A Multivariate Analysis of Student Activism at the  
University of Alberta" submitted by Joel O. Loken in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy.

(C)

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

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DATE: 19 JULY 1970

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1970



## ABSTRACT

This dissertation identified some of the correlates of student activism based on a random sample (N=243) at the University of Alberta. The primary purpose was to test some specific hypotheses which derived from the literature on political socialization.

Activism, defined in terms of behaviors labelled as activistic (Kerpelman, 1969) and attitudes related to activism (Sutherland, 1969; Ezekiel, 1969), correlated with measures of cognitive complexity, theoretical orientation, lack of dogmatism, and lack of succorance. These were considered to be objective indices of allocentrivity (Schachtel, 1959). In addition, activism was related to certain sociological variables such as exposure to ideas, level of parental education, previous political participation and level of family income.

These variables were combined for purposes of multicorrelational analysis and an  $R^2$  of .42 was observed. The  $R^2$  stood up quite well when subjected to cross-validation.

Fourteen activists were chosen for additional investigation on the basis of their elevated scores on the combined indices of activism. These special subjects were found to represent particular organizations on campus which are instrumental in promoting change in Canadian society. Some new information was gathered through the use of a pointed but rather open-ended interview on the activists' value systems, personal histories, and the basic issues which they are interested in having discussed. Some of these issues had to do with distinctly Canadian concerns. The activists expressed some very clear opinions on the need for educational reform.



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer expresses particular gratitude to Dr. W. H. O. Schmidt and Dr. S. M. Hunka, whose encouragement, supervision and sound advice contributed in such a major way to the completion of the dissertation. The useful and constructive remarks of Dr. T. G. Harvey, Dr. J. J. Mitchell, and Dr. G. Price are gratefully acknowledged.

Appreciation is expressed to all of the students who gave some of their valuable time as subjects. Finally, appreciation should be directed to Sharon Sutherland and the Political Science Department at the University of Alberta for the use of their Student Power Scales, to Richard Christie of Columbia University for the use of his Machiavellianism measure, and to Larry Kerpelman and Michael J. Weiner for the use of the ACT Scales.



TO MY SON

BRENT



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## CHAPTER ONE

### THE PROBLEM

This research project was undertaken in order to describe some of the characteristics of students who tended toward activism at the University of Alberta in 1969-70. Some of the independent variables were chosen for investigation on the assumption that they are some of the crucial factors that contribute to student activism, which is conceived here as the independent variable. It was hoped that certain of these hypothesized contributors would correlate with attitudes and behavior labelled as "activistic." Perhaps some of these related variables could be regarded as antecedents or socializing correlates of activism.

The presentation will be in the following sequence. In Chapter Two, a brief resume of previous findings related to the specific research problem will be presented. Included in this resume will be a short discussion which is intended to delineate what is meant by the activist phenomenon. Following this will be some theoretical considerations regarding the likely interrelations among the important variables. Certain postulates will emerge from this discussion. Chapter Three will contain information on experimental design and on the sources of data, instrumentation, and the precise method of procedure. Chapter Four will be devoted to results without any attempt to interpret those results in the light of earlier theoretical speculation. Finally, in Chapter Five, the most important statistical, empirical and clinical findings and conclusions will be summarized within the framework of a series of generalizations.



## CHAPTER TWO

### A RESUME OF THE LITERATURE

#### I. A DEFINITION OF THE TERM ACTIVIST

It is necessary at the outset to delineate what is meant by the term "student activist." Activism may be conceived as one of many increasingly prevalent modes of adjustment to modern conditions of life. Another mode may be "copping out" or withdrawing from society. The "cop outs" and the activists share at least one characteristic. Both tend to criticize society as presently organized. However, the activist aggressively attacks society and tries to bring his influence to bear on bringing about change while the cop outs are described by Keniston (1967) as alienated youth who draw into shells of social isolation. The distinction between the alienated and the activists has been made explicit in many books and readings which analyze today's youth and their dominant modes of adjustment (Roszak, 1969; Keniston, 1968, and others). Since the activist is our focus of attention no attempt will be made to differentiate further between these two subcultures.

Any definition of contemporary student activism should include a reference to activists' life style (action) as well as to their rhetoric. The life style of an activist is "confrontational." Confrontation consists of bringing a social issue to the level of consciousness where it can be discussed and publicized. Confrontation usually involves the disruption of usual procedure and formal institutions. Finally, confrontation involves a showdown between



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antagonistic forces in order to facilitate social change.

The radical activist claims that he has the right to bring social concerns and problems to the surface because only by facing up to these problems will society be able to solve them. The activist feels that certain injustices and unreasonable practices have been kept far too long at a level where they cannot be readily observed and analyzed. Activists deliberately use even "shock techniques" in order to make people think about social problems.

The activist usually thinks of himself as a champion of the oppressed. Therefore, he may attempt to inform the underprivileged about the nature of their oppression.

The activist is usually an egalitarian and professes to believe in "participatory democracy." This idea implies that people should come to participate in those economic and political decisions that affect their lives. The realization of participatory democracy depends on a change from centralized to more decentralized decision-making procedures in prevailing political processes. Activists claim that, without effective participation, a man is left in an ambiguous position in which "he experiences himself as a powerless being" (Fromm, 1955) cut off from the meaning of his existence and alienated from himself as well as society (Marx, as quoted in Bottomore, 1963).

Unlike reformist politicians who seem to have clear ideas about how society should change, the radicals lack a specific political platform. Many object to the radicals on the grounds that they lack any sense of direction and that they propose few constructive alternatives



to what presently exists. An answer to this objection is contained in a paper by Charles Davis (1970, p. 10):

...They are opposed, it is clear enough, to the expansionist capitalism of Western society, with its plundering of world resources for profit and its imperialistic domination of the peoples it exploits. They are opposed to the bureaucratic apparatus that organizes men for commercial purposes alone and disregards personal values. They are in reaction against a consumer society that seduces men and lulls their discontent with bread and circuses. They are looking, not for an extension of the Welfare State, but for a just and human society, for a society with goals other than economic growth, a society with values and ideals, one in accord with the freedom and individuality of the human person. But if one asks them for a blueprint of the new society, they have no clear answers. They cannot have. The change they demand is too great to be described beforehand.

## II. FINDINGS ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ACTIVIST STUDENTS

The present review of reported observations on the characteristics of student activists will be as brief as possible since Paulus (1967) and others have provided complete summaries of all the most important findings. Sutherland (1969) also included a detailed review of the literature in a thesis on the structure of political attitudes of students at the University of Alberta. For purposes of this dissertation it is necessary to discuss some of the psychological characteristics, the sociological background, and the perceived social relations of the activists.

### Personality Characteristics

Personality characteristics ascribed to activists by researchers having studied them in recent years are: intellectualism (Heist, 1965; Flacks, 1967), cognitive flexibility and anti-dogmatism (Watts & Whittaker, 1966; Flacks, 1967), thinking introversion, complexity,



estheticism, autonomy, impulse expression, and lack of anxiety (Trent & Craise, 1967). Activists are usually nonreligious or unorthodox in their religious orientation (Lyons, 1965; Paulus, 1967; Solomon & Fishman, 1964; Watts & Whittaker, 1966; Flacks, 1967; Heist, 1965). They stress altruism, empathy, openness and honesty in human relationships (Solomon & Fishman, 1964; Flacks, 1967). Katz (1967), in summarizing the research, states that activists are more tolerant and realistic; less dependent on authority, rules, or rituals for managing social relationships; less judgmental; they tend to express impulses more freely either in conscious thought or in overt actions and they have active imaginations. Additionally, they value self-expression and express a desire for community in existential terms.

Up until recently there had been a tendency to locate only positive psychological correlates of activism. Bettelheim (1969) states that, although the majority of activists are of superior intelligence, etc., many have remained "emotionally fixated at the age of the temper tantrum." This is the view of those who see activism as a pathological manifestation of prolonged adolescence.

Sociological data on the backgrounds of activists is quite consistent. Activists' families are frequently favored in terms of affluence, education and social class (Westby & Braungart, 1966; Watts & Whittaker, 1966; Flacks, 1967). In Flacks' Chicago sample the activists' families were found to be Jewish more frequently than Catholic. In the Flacks' study the parents and their activist offspring were both liberal but the children were more radical than their parents; activists and their parents shared a complex of values, and



parents of activist youth appeared to foster permissive family environments.

A comment should be made about the social relations or the perceived social relations of activists. Generally, activists tend to perceive themselves as individualistic and independent from others (Flacks, 1967; Heist, 1965; Paulus, 1967). Paulus reports that the activists score high on perceived peer independence and family independence. Little has been reported on the perceived social relations between activists and their former teachers and nothing has been reported on perceived acceptance by others or on the extent to which they are able to communicate effectively with other people.

### III. THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

#### Introduction to Socialization Theory

In trying to understand the socialization process that has led to the "shaping" of the political activist, it is insufficient merely to study the effects of various socializing agents. Socialization involves a subject who is not just a passive victim of forces impinging upon him. In varying degrees, he is an actor and selection agent himself, i.e., when socializing agents impinge on the individual their actual effect is modified by the subject. Thus, it is important to study the relevant aspects of the personality as well as to study the forces which operate on the individual from without. There is a growing feeling among social psychologists that "any explanation which relies purely on 'psychological' or 'sociological' bases alone can never be fully adequate" (ASR, August, 1969, p. 210).



When discussing socialization it is important to realize that it may not be so much what processes have been applied to the developing organism as when those processes were applied. This important aspect of development tends to be overlooked in many descriptive studies. Perhaps the relations between certain process variables and activism will not be observable unless this timing factor is specified.

Hyman (1959) points out that the differences between socializing determinants are sometimes improperly ignored. Further, control procedures when used indiscriminately and without reference to the kinds of variables that are being analyzed can lead to the failure to detect a certain amount of variance and/or interaction effect that is of significance to the research. The question as to how certain variables should be conceptualized as operating is often a tricky one.

### Sociological Theory

One sociological theory of socialization argues that social activism develops as a function of a person's proximity to political events (Milbraith, 1965). The theory states: the greater the previous political participation, the greater the likelihood that activism will occur. An age factor enters into this theory because with advancing years a person is exposed to more ideologies and philosophies. Opportunity to examine and evaluate various beliefs and ideas constitutes part of what is regarded as a person's political past. A university education affords this kind of opportunity. Specific involvements in school elections, political campaigns, conventions and political activities of various sorts also constitute part of a person's political experience. Exposure to ideas through travel, work experience



and intercultural contact all have their cumulative effect in "politicizing" a person.

A second theory concentrates on other sociological factors. This theory asserts that activism is associated with particular positions in the social structure (Lane, 1962). Social structure will be defined as a matrix of social classes and statuses which are determined by such factors as level of educational attainment, occupation and income. Designating a person's position in the social structure is difficult because of social mobility and status inconsistency which are particularly evident in dynamic cultures such as ours. The modal response to status inconsistency and cross-pressures associated with it is thought to be withdrawal rather than activism (Merelman, 1969).

The third major sociological theory argues that social activism results from the class antagonisms generated in stratified, industrial societies (Bell, 1961). Since this theory has been tested many times it will not be followed up in this thesis.

Postulate 1: Factors that indicate previous political participation and exposure, as well as social position factors such as years of educational training, father's income, and parents' educational attainment will be associated with student activism.

#### Schachtel's Theory of Cognitive Development

Sociological theories have proven to be insufficient because they are unable to account for the development of activism in some people and not in others. The key word here is "development." Study of human development requires consideration of maturational and personality factors. A person must be psychologically ready and capable



before being "radicalized" or "activated."

Merelman (1969) feels that for a person to become an active or radical "ideologue" he must "have cognitive skills which allow him to see linkages between ideas and events" and he must "have a developed morality which allows him to evaluate consistently the ethical meanings of political events." Merelman goes on to explain moral development in Piagetian terms.

Without advanced moral and cognitive development a person remains oblivious to social and political events. He is incapable of determining the real consequences of those events, even in terms of his own welfare. Since he cannot understand those events, he may view them superstitiously as unalterable forces. In other words, he becomes a mystic or fatalist. The activist is likely to be more of a sophisticated optimist. He feels that specific actions now can assist in determining the social conditions of the future.

Schachtel's theory (1959) stresses "autocentric" and "allocentric" forms of development as well as "embeddedness." At the highest stage of allocentric development a person has cultivated a keen interest in the external world. His desire is to become meaningfully involved with, and to comprehend, external realities in their own right, not as need-related objects (Schachtel, footnote, p. 83). Pleasure for the autocentric person derives from the "discharge of tension." Pleasure for the allocentric person derives more from arousal and sensory stimulation.

In articulating his theory of development, Schachtel (1959) uses the concept of "objectification." This he explains as



the phenomenon of man's encounter with more or less definite objects as a certain type of relatedness emerges between him and his environment. The degree of objectification is characterized by the degree to which the object is perceived as existing independently of the perceiver and the degree to which the quality of its richness is perceived (p. 85).

This kind of objectification is most characteristic of the allocentric person. The autocentric person on the other hand is concerned not so much with objects which exist independently, but with need-satisfying objects.

The dimension of autocentrality-allocentrality is closely bound up with what Schachtel calls embeddedness. Schachtel (1959) sees two types of embeddedness in development: a primary and a secondary. In Schachtel's terms: the prototype of primary embeddedness is embeddedness in the womb and later in the mother-child and family relationships, which provide the child with his pleasures and his security. In the adolescent and the adult there may develop a secondary embeddedness, this time in a social group, from which the individual draws his securities and his satisfactions. To perceive, to judge, to categorize, or to believe in ways that deviate from the group becomes threatening, and the individual may in fact become quite incapable of trusting his own perceptions. Thus, he can no longer "open up" but rather "closes" his mind to novel stimuli. This need to "close" for reasons of protection and security helps to promote secondary embeddedness.

The relatedness of certain cognitive characteristics and activism would be supported through content analysis of certain documented statements by activists such as Hardial Bains (1968). Bains declares that we hate to leave the cocoon of culture and history and that as a result we fail to become fully conscious even of the objects



around us. "Anti-consciousness" results when personal development continues as a process of imitation, either of parents or of society. As long as we merely imitate there can be no true consciousness or rebellion. True, the individual may be secure but this is only the "ontological security" resulting from the acceptance of a historical crib which rationalizes what he is. So long as one does not question he remains embedded. The dogmatic person not only does not question, he is egocentric to the point that he thinks no one else is alive. This egocentrism manifests itself in privatism and the need for a familiar "I-owned environment."

The idea, according to Bains, should be to wake up, to remove oneself from the comfortable embeddedness of the "historical crib" and live in a state of consciousness which includes the comprehension of others as they really are -- as people with human qualities. This consciousness, however, constitutes the final estrangement between the individual and the historical crib.

Postulate 2: Activism will be associated with certain dimensions of allocentric cognition (cognitive complexity, autonomy, cognitive flexibility, theoretical orientation).

#### The Social-Anxiety Hypothesis

It now appears certain that a relationship exists between a person's previous social relations and his present political behavior. The family is particularly important in terms of models, rewards and punishments that it provides. However, it has proven very difficult to analyze micro-dimensions of these "social treatments." The element of control, for instance, between a child and his parents or his peers



is multidimensional and subtle. A parent who is restricting in one phase of childrearing may be permissive in another. Still, a child can report more accurately on over-all feelings, i.e., macro-dimensions, about his previous social relations than he can about the trivia.

A theory is that behavior in adult life may be a function of earlier interpersonal situations in which anxiety was permitted to develop (Erikson, 1950; Katz, 1967; Keniston, 1968; Flacks, 1967; Lasswell, 1948). Lasswell called this the "social anxiety hypothesis" which suggests that "men are only free when they are free from social anxiety." Can this be interpreted to mean that freedom to rebel emerges among adults whose social relations as children were relatively free from social anxiety? Bay (1967), Flacks (1967), Katz (1967), and Camus (1958) among others have hinted explicitly at this possibility.

It is known that social anxiety can result from rejecting, non-communicative, and over-protective socializing conditions (Schaefer & Bell, 1958). Anxiety is also induced through inconsistent or discontinuous socialization experience (Child, 1954). Consistency refers to the tendency of social treatments to be asserted evenly and without contradiction. Inconsistency, in this case, refers to socialization differences within any given mode or period of treatment. Continuity, on the other hand, refers to the tendency of socialization experiences to occur in uninterrupted connection, succession or union. Discontinuity exists when there are treatment differences over time.

Sullivan has shown that anxiety can be traced to psychological distance of the mother or to excessive punishment (Mullahy, 1952). He assists in integrating the theories presented in this thesis by



claiming that anxiety inhibits cognitive development. Cognitive development, in turn, is related to certain kinds of political behavior and social activism.

Postulate 3: If they succeed in producing anxiety, then rejecting, non-communicative, and dependent socializing experiences will be associated with the development of withdrawal rather than activism.



## CHAPTER THREE

### EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

#### I. THE SAMPLE

A random group of students from the University of Alberta was selected for this study. It was difficult to stratify the random sample since the actual number of activists in the student body was not known. It was more practical to select a number of subjects from a list of students who were registered at the University of Alberta (Population: 18,000). 290 Ss were approached and 243 completed the test battery which was used for the research. Certain evidence demonstrated that the random sample approximated the characteristics of the university population from which it was selected. Statistics provided by the Universities Commission and the Registrar made it possible to compare the random sample to the general student body on: faculty representation, average age, the sex ratio, number of students living with and away from their parents, and the proportion of married to unmarried students.

A small sample of "activist" Ss ( $N=14$ ) was selected from the random sample for an in depth study and validation concerning the criterion variable. The criterion for selection of Ss for this "activist sample" was an elevated score on the combined indices of activism. Political ideology as measured by the Political-Economic Conservativism Scale was also used as a screen. Thus, the final sub-sample consisted of a group of left-wing student activists. The ideology measure was employed for selection in order that the activist



sample could be explicitly defined.

The random sample ( $N=243$ ) and the activist sample ( $N=14$ ) were compared with similar samples from another university (Kerpelman, 1969) on the behavioral indices of activism (Table 1). It was seen that no significant differences occurred between the means of comparable independent samples, i.e., the two independent leftist activist samples had almost identical means on the ACT-A and ACT-D. This fact would seem to validate the activist sample against another known activist group. This known activist group was picked from campus organizations which twelve political science faculty members had rated as being most politically active.

Ss chosen for investigation were approached personally by means of telephone. Care was taken to insure the best possible cooperation from them. The response of the Ss was generally very favorable and it was felt that any loss of subjects was purely random.

The initial test battery took two hours to complete. This time period was interrupted in order to avoid a "fatigue factor" from influencing the results. A second interview was scheduled with the activist Ss. The purpose of this interview was to validate the original results and to collect some new data.

## II. INSTRUMENTATION

### The Behavioral Indices of Activism

The ACT Scale (Appendix B), developed by Kerpelman and Winer (1969) is a twenty-four item test. Half of the items (ACT-A) question the Ss on their actual participation in various protesting and



TABLE 1

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR KERPELMAN'S\* SAMPLE (1969)  
 AND THE CURRENT UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA SAMPLE ON  
 THE BEHAVIORAL INDICES OF ACTIVISM

TYPE OF SAMPLE AND SCALE	KERPELMAN (1969)		LOKEN (1970)	
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.
ACT-A (Actual behavior)	---	---	---	---
Activist (leftist)	32.71	8.53	32.39	5.82
Non-activist (middle)	19.20	4.19	19.79	6.01
ACT-D (Imagined behavior)				
Activist (leftist)	48.71	8.34	52.06	5.61
Non-activist (middle)	27.50	5.48	----*	----*

Kerpelman's study: Activists = 14, Non-activists = 10.

Loken's study: Activists = 14.

\*Mean for total sample (N=243) = 29.90 and the standard deviation = 11.72.



political activities. The remaining questions (ACT-D) ask the Ss for their desired frequency of participation in the same activities had the respondent been free of all social, financial, and educational obligation. Kerpelman obtained a split-half reliability of 0.93 on ACT-A and 0.96 on ACT-D. For other scale statistics see Table 2.

#### The Ezekiel-Sutherland Student Power Attitude Scale

Opinions on student power were elicited by the authors of the scale from a cross-section of students ( $N > 100$ ) by way of open-ended questioning. The responses were reworked and a new closed-ended questionnaire was developed. Some dimensions were under-represented so additional items were added which had their foundation in student power literature. An attempt was made to balance the number of positively-worded and negatively-worded statements. The 273 resulting items were randomized in a questionnaire which was administered to 95 students. A factor analysis was completed. Four persons then sorted the factors according to their apparent common denominators. Agreement was reached that nine distinguishable dimensions were evident at that point. Some of the items were eliminated on the basis of item identicality or on the basis of poor face validity. The remaining 97 items composed nine subscales.

A new factor analysis was conducted on the 97-item scale. Results indicated that initial sortings of factors had been successful only to a limited extent. Some factors appeared to cloud other factors or clustered together with loadings approaching significance on uninterpretable factors. A factor analysis was conducted on the data obtained from 428 random subjects on 84 items from the refined scales.



TABLE 2

GROUP MEANS, SDs, AND F-RATIOS ON THE ACT SCALES ON  
THE BASIS OF 76 SUBJECTS CHOSEN ON A BEHAVIORAL  
CRITERION (KERPELMAN, 1969)

Scale	IDEOLOGY						Analysis of Variance
	Left		Middle		Right		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
<b>ACT-A</b>							
Activist	32.71	8.53	26.50	7.80	25.64	5.81	F = 41.8
Non-Activist	21.36	3.62	19.20	4.19	16.43	2.43	
<b>ACT-D</b>							
Activist	48.71	8.34	40.00	11.41	40.82	8.31	F = 54.6
Non-Activist	34.07	7.22	27.50	5.48	24.07	6.73	

On both subscales of the ACT, the activists differed significantly in the expected direction from the non-activists, providing further evidence that the groups were properly selected. This resulted also adds support for the construct validity of the ACT as an instrument for selecting political activist students. Newman-Keuls tests, modified for unequal subclass frequencies (Winer, 1962, pp. 80-84), indicated a significant difference on the ACT-A Subscale between left and right ideology groups, the former being more active. The middle group did not differ significantly from either of the others. On the ACT-D Subscale, left Ss were significantly more active than both right and middle Ss. There was no significant difference between these two latter groups (Kerpelman, 1969, pp. 8-9).



Results confirmed the postulated scales.

In a higher order factor analysis, Ezekiel (1969) determined that a "student power syndrome" could be defined by five variables loading on Factor I. Ezekiel's hypothesis was that the six student power variables would load highly on one factor, and that this factor would be relatively pure, in the sense that he expected no other high loadings. "High" was specified as .5 or greater. Generally, this hypothesis was confirmed. Thus, a Student Power Attitude Scale was developed which included five subscales named: Fear of Radicals and Radicalism; Student Power (Administrative); Student Power (Academic); Student Power (Organizational); and Student Power (Democracy). The latter two subscales were the least discriminating measures and were thus omitted from the present study. However, System Cynicism and Rejection was included because of its relatively high sensitivity and because of its low correlation with Fear of Radicals and Radicalism. The inclusion of this scale increased the possibility of the S being confronted with statements he both agreed and disagreed with. The questionnaire was quite balanced in this respect.

At the present time there are no reliability measures on the Student Power Scales. The Student Power Scales are included in Appendix B.

#### The Personality Indices

Rokeach's D-Scale. Rokeach (1954) defined dogmatism as "(a) a relatively closed cognitive organization of beliefs and disbelief about reality, (b) organized around a central set of beliefs about absolute authority which, in turn, (c) provides a framework for



patterns of intolerance toward others (p. 195)." Rokeach's idea of dogmatism is a generalized concept of authoritarianism rather than a specific or "right wing" authoritarianism as measured by the California F Scale or the CPI-Fx Scale. Rokeach's contention is supported by Plant (1960), Barker (1963), Kerlinger and Rokeach (1966) and Hanson (1968).

One of the most recent studies on the D-Scale's construct validity was carried out by Vacchiano, Schiffman, and Straus (1967). The scale was found to be internally complex, but the factors tended to group around Rokeach's conceptualizations. Reliability measures reported for the D-Scale have been generally high for young adult and adult populations (Ehrlich, 1961; Lichtenstein, Quinn, and Hover, 1961; Kemp and Kohler, 1965). The D-Scale was not found to be contaminated by social desirability response set (Becker and Delio, 1967; Bernardson, 1967). Couch and Keniston (1960), found a significant relationship between the D-Scale and agreement response set or acquiescence. Vacchiano, Straus, and Hochman (1969) provide the most recent summary of research on the D-Scale.

Christie's Machiavellianism Scale (Mach V). The Mach V was developed by Richard Christie of Columbia. It originally developed from a content analysis of Machiavelli's The Prince and The Discourses. Mach V identified individuals who gravitate to positions of power and who are willing to manipulate other people to achieve their personal aims. The scale statements, modernized in wording, were refined into 20 sets of items. Each Mach statement is grouped with two other statements similar in tone. One of the others is a "buffer," a



statement sounding like a Mach item but which does not correlate with the total score. The second statement is a social desirability item. If the actual Mach item is low in desirability, then the buffer is also low while the social desirability item is naturally high. If the Mach item is high in desirability, the buffer is also high but the social desirability item would still be preferred by those who always choose to act in the most socially acceptable manner. Mach V does not correlate with known measures of psychopathology, political ideology or social class.

Succorance Scale (Su). The Su Scale from the Personality Research Form appears to relate to Schachtel's concept of embeddedness-affect when it is item-scanned. Perhaps only a part of embeddedness-affect is described by the Su Scale but this is a significant part of it. The succorant person frequently seeks sympathy, protection and reassurance from other people. He is ingratiating and entreating.

The Kuder-Richardson reliability of the Su Scale is 0.92, the test-retest reliability is 0.84 and the odd-even reliability varies from 0.78 to 0.80. Attention has been given to construct validity. The test was developed on a population of college students.

Cognitive Complexity Scale (Omnibus Personality Inventory). The OPI was developed at Berkeley by researchers who were particularly concerned about research student activism. Cognitive complexity is a stylistic measure of perception which is characterized by an open creative approach to phenomena. High scorers are usually fond of novelty, ambiguity, and exploration.



Co correlates ( $r = .32$ ) with a preference for problem-solving.

Co correlates ( $r = .44$ ) with other measures of cognitive complexity and has a high correlation ( $r = .58$ ) with measures of creativity.

Reliability measures vary from .73 (internal consistency) on 7283 freshmen to .93 (test-retest) on 71 upperclassmen.

Theoretical Orientation Scale (Omnibus Personality Inventory).

According to the manual for the OPI, the person who scores highly on the TO Scale enjoys speculation and research activities and entertains an abundance of ideas about a number of things. The TO correlates ( $r = .62$ ) with the Study of Values Theoretical Scale and correlates ( $r = .53$ ) with an experimental measure of problem-solving activity.

The correlation of .51 with the Thoughtfulness Scale of the G-ZTS (Table IV of the OPI Manual) supports the idea that TO reflects, to some extent, interest in logical, critical thinking. The TO Scale correlates significantly with faculty ratings for "self-reliance and originality" ( $r = .35$ ). Estimates of reliability on the TO are quite acceptable (Table 22, OPI Manual).

Social Perceptions Indicator (SPI)

For details on this instrument see Appendix C.

Sociological Variables

For details on these indices see Appendix C.

### III. STATISTICAL PROCEDURE

A combination of events and person characteristics is conceived as exerting collective influence in producing activism. Step-wise



multiple regression provides one means of examining the cumulative influence of independent variables all of which have some moderate relation to student activism when considered singly. These influencing variables enter into the regression equation one at a time and, step by step, build up the variance estimate. The first variable entering always has the highest correlation with the criterion. The other contributors enter, not only on the basis of their correlation with the criterion but, on the basis of adding new predictive information to the equation. Thus, multiple regression analysis allows the researcher to combine a number of variables in order to provide the best possible estimate of a criterion measure. This estimate will not be absolutely perfect because of the fact of measurement error and because it is seldom possible to include all the independent variables which contribute to the variance in the regression equation.

Multiple regression could conceivably capitalize on errors due to sampling procedure. Therefore, it is necessary to cross-validate the findings. Cross-validation is accomplished by dividing the original sample into two independent groups. A step-wise multiple regression analysis is then performed on the first sample. Beta weights are generated for each entering variable and these weights are applied in predicting the criterion variable for the second sample. The  $R^2$  observed in the first analysis is seen to "shrink" when this method is used (Nunnally, 1967). If this "shrinkage" is not appreciable, the initial results are considered to be valid.



The linear regression equation for this analysis is written,  
 $Y = A_0U + AX + E$ , where  $A_0$  is a constant, A represents the regression weight for variable X, U is a unit vector, and X is an independent variable and E is the error term.

#### IV. THE NULL HYPOTHESES

##### Pearson Product Moment Correlations

###### The Sociological Variables.

Political participation and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Year of university and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Father's annual income and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Mother's education and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Father's education and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

###### The Psychological Variables.

Cognitive Complexity and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Lack of Succorance (Autonomy) and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Lack of Dogmatism and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Theoretical Orientation and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Machiavellianism and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Leftist political ideology and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .\*

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\* No postulate was formulated regarding the relation of political ideology and student activism.



Social Perception Variables.

Perception of social control and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Perception of social rejection and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Lack of social communication and student activism.  $H_0: \rho = 0$ .

Multiple Regression Analysis

The null hypothesis tested after the entrance of the first independent variable (Step 1 of the multiple regression problem) was  $H_0: R^2_1 = 0$ . The null hypothesis at Step 2 was  $H_0: R^2_2 - R^2_1 = 0$ . At Step 3,  $H_0: R^2_3 - R^2_2 = 0$ , and etc. The critical F-value for the variable entering was specified at  $\alpha .01$ .



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### I. CORRELATES OF ACTIVISM

The first step in analyzing the data was to examine the single correlations between each independent variable and student activism (Tables 3, 4, and 5). The coefficients were tested for significance at  $\alpha .05$ . In cases where an alternative hypothesis was accepted, the associated independent variable was considered to be a correlate of activism.

##### Sociological Correlates (Table 3)

Political participation and student activism.  $H_1: \rho \neq 0$ .

Year of university and student activism.  $H_2: \rho \neq 0$ .

Father's annual income and student activism.  $H_3: \rho \neq 0$ .

Mother's education and student activism.  $H_4: \rho \neq 0$ .

Father's education and student activism.  $H_5: \rho \neq 0$ .

##### Psychological Correlates (Table 4)

Cognitive complexity and student activism.  $H_6: \rho \neq 0$ .

Lack of succorance (autonomy) and student activism.  $H_7: \rho \neq 0$ .

Theoretical orientation and student activism.  $H_8: \rho \neq 0$ .

Leftist political ideology and student activism.  $H_9: \rho \neq 0$ .

The null hypotheses were not rejected for dogmatism (lack of) and Machiavellianism.

##### Social Perception Variables (Table 5)

The null hypotheses were not rejected for any of the social perception variables.



TABLE 3

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIOLOGICAL  
VARIABLES AND STUDENT ACTIVISM (N=243)

VARIABLES	Behavioral Indices	CORRELATIONS	
		Attitudinal Indices	Activism Composite
Age	.09	-.09	.03
Year of University	* .19	-.16	.10
Exposure to ideas	* .23	.04	* .20
Father's Income	* .17	.14	* .19
Mother's Education	* .17	.08	* .17
Father's Education	* .18	.03	.16
Maleness	.00	.10	.04
Being Unmarried	.07	.12	.05
Living away from parents	.06	.04	.04
Upward Social Mobility	-.02	-.09	-.04
Political Participation	* .21	.05	* .19

\*Significant at .05 level.



TABLE 4

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES, INCLUDING SOCIAL DESIRABILITY AND IDEOLOGY, AND STUDENT ACTIVISM (N=243)

VARIABLES	CORRELATIONS		
	Behavioral Indices	Attitudinal Indices	Activism Composite
Dogmatism (Rokeach's D-Scale)	-.12	-.05	-.11
Machiavellianism (Christie's Mach V Scale)	.12	.00	.09
Theoretical Orientation (Omnibus Personality Inventory)	* .36	.06	* .31
Cognitive Complexity (Omnibus Personality Inventory)	* .45	* .29	* .48
Succorance (Personality Research Form)	*-.30	.02	*-.25
Social Desirability Response (Machiavellianism Scale)	.00	-.02	-.01
Leftist Political Ideology (Levinson's Political - Economic Conservatism Scale)	* .41	* .28	* .44

\*Significant at the .05 level.



TABLE 5

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOCIAL PERCEPTION VARIABLES AND STUDENT ACTIVISM (N=243)

VARIABLES	CORRELATIONS		
	Behavioral Indices	Attitudinal Indices	Activism Composite
Parental Acceptance	0.09	0.09	0.12
Parental Control	-0.05	-0.03	-0.08
Parental Communication	-0.02	0.12	0.03
Peer Acceptance	-0.08	-0.02	-0.07
Peer Control	-0.05	-0.02	-0.05
Peer Communications	-0.06	-0.02	-0.06
Teacher Acceptance	-0.01	0.07	0.01
Teacher Control	-0.04	-0.02	-0.04
Teacher Communications	-0.12	0.01	-0.09



## II. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES

### Preselection of Variables

It was not necessary to consider the social perception variables as contributors to the  $R^2$  since they showed no significant relationship to the criterion variable. Social desirability response showed low correlations with the other variables and none of the correlations were statistically significant. Social desirability response was not considered to have contaminated the data and there was no reason to control for its influence in later calculations (Table 21).

It was considered inefficient to include independent variables that "overlap," or correlate highly with each other. Dogmatism, which intercorrelated with six other independent variables, was therefore not included in the multiple regression design. Even though the correlation between theoretical orientation and activism was .35, theoretical orientation had to be dropped because it intercorrelated significantly with five other independent variables. Mother's education and father's education were combined into one variable.

A list of the independent variables included in the stepwise multiple regression analysis is given in Table 6. It was observed that most of the correlations between these independent variables and activism proved to be significant at  $\alpha < .05$ . The intercorrelations between all the variables chosen for multiple regression analysis are reported in Table 7.

No variables should have had any "suppressor" effect on the  $R^2$  since there was so little intercorrelation between the independent



TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF THE VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE STEP-WISE  
MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES (N=243)

TERM IN THE EQUATION	NAME OF THE VARIABLE	LEVEL OF DESCRIPTION	CORRELATION WITH ACTIVISM		
			Behavioral Indices	Activism Composite	
X <sub>1</sub>	Year of university	Sociological	.19*	.10	
X <sub>2</sub>	Exposure to ideas	Sociological	.23*	.20*	
X <sub>3</sub>	Father's income	Sociological	.11	.19*	
X <sub>4</sub>	Parent's education	Sociological	.17*	.17*	
X <sub>5</sub>	Political participation	Sociological	.21*	.19*	
X <sub>6</sub>	Machiavellianism	Psychological	.12	.09	
X <sub>7</sub>	Cognitive complexity	Psychological	.45*	.48*	
X <sub>8</sub>	Succorance	Psychological	-.30*	-.25*	
X <sub>9</sub>	Political ideology	Psychological	.40*	.44*	
Y	Activism composite	Criterion	.92	1.00	

\*Significant at the .05 level.



TABLE 7

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN  
THE VARIABLES INCLUDED IN THE STEP-WISE  
MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSES (N=243)

DESIGNATION OF THE VARIABLE	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>2</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>	X <sub>8</sub>	X <sub>9</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Year of university	.10	-.01	-.02	.03	-.03	.00	.15	.14	
X <sub>2</sub> Exposure to ideas		.28*	.30*	.07	.02	.15	.08	.16	
X <sub>3</sub> Father's income			.36*	.01	-.08	.18	.02	-.05	
X <sub>4</sub> Parent's education				-.01	.03	.06	.00	.08	
X <sub>5</sub> Political participation					-.01	.01	.01	-.02	
X <sub>6</sub> Machia- villianism						.01	.12	.20*	
X <sub>7</sub> Cognitive complexity							.34*	.31*	
X <sub>8</sub> Succorance (lack of)								.11	
X <sub>9</sub> Political ideology (PEC)									

\*Significant relationship at  $\alpha = .05$ .



variables included in the design. The beta weight of a suppressor variable is usually negative. Since no beta weights had negative values, it was assumed that none of the independent variables acted as suppressors.

#### Testing of the Hypotheses

Solutions to the two separate multiple regression problems are reported in Tables 8 and 10. In the first problem the value of  $F_{critical}$  at  $\alpha .01$  was 3.47 (Ferguson, 1966). The  $F_{critical}$  at  $\alpha .01$  for the second problem was 2.69 (Ferguson, 1966).

#### The First Analysis

The dependent variable in the first analysis consisted of all activism indices. This criterion variable was termed the "activism composite." The estimate of activism which relied on a knowledge of the first variable to enter the regression equation, cognitive complexity, proved to be significant.  $R^2$  was significantly greater than zero at  $\alpha .01$  (Table 8). Step 2 indicated that the increased predictive efficiency gained by adding information on the S's political ideology increased the  $R^2$  and that this increase was significant at  $\alpha .01$ . Steps 3 and 4 indicated that knowledge gained as a result of adding information about previous political participation and parental education increased the predictive value of the equation at  $\alpha .01$ .

#### Cross-Validation

The results of cross-validation are reported in Table 9. It was observed that the final  $R^2$  decreased from a value of .42 to .35 (the R from .62 to 59) when the regression weights from the first analysis were applied to a new independent random sample. This



TABLE 8

STEP-WISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ON THE FIRST RANDOM SAMPLE (N=123)  
 UTILIZING THE BEST FOUR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WHICH ARE  
 PRESUMED, FOR THEORETICAL AND/OR EMPIRICAL REASONS,  
 TO BE RELATED TO STUDENT ACTIVISM WHICH IS  
 DESIGNATED, IN THIS CASE, AS A COMPOSITE  
 OF ALL THE BEHAVIORAL AND ATTITUDINAL  
 INDICES OF THE CRITERION

VARIABLE ENTERING	$R^2$	R	F - VALUE FOR THE ENTERING VARIABLE
Cognitive Complexity	.22	.48	34.57*
Political Ideology	.30	.55	12.87*
Political Participation	.37	.60	13.04*
Parent's Education	.42	.62	9.91*

\* Significant at  $\alpha .01$ .



TABLE 9

CROSS-VALIDATION FROM THE FIRST RANDOM SAMPLE  
 TO THE SECOND RANDOM SAMPLE (N=120)  
 ON THE VARIABLES PROVING  
 SIGNIFICANT IN THE  
 ORIGINAL ANALYSES

VARIABLES	WEIGHTS USED	CRITERION
Cognitive Complexity	1.151	Activism Composite
Political Ideology	1.053	Activism Composite
Political Participation	6.101	Activism Composite
Parent's Education	4.300	Activism Composite
Total R	= 0.62	
Validation R	= 0.59	
Shrinkage	= 0.03	



TABLE 10

STEP-WISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ON THE TOTAL RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243)  
 UTILIZING THE BEST SEVEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WHICH ARE  
 PRESUMED, FOR THEORETICAL AND/OR EMPIRICAL REASONS,  
 TO BE RELATED TO STUDENT ACTIVISM WHICH IS  
 SPECIFIED, IN THIS CASE, AS A BEHAVIORAL  
 CRITERION INCLUDING BOTH REAL AND  
 IMAGINED BEHAVIOR (ACT-A&D)

VARIABLE ENTERING	R <sup>2</sup>	R	F - VALUE FOR THE ENTERING VARIABLE
Cognitive Complexity	.20	.45	62.56*
Political Ideology	.28	.53	27.46*
Political Participation	.33	.58	16.74*
Succorance (lack of)	.35	.59	8.93*
Father's Income	.37	.60	6.96*
Machiavellianism	.39	.61	7.49*
Year of University	.41	.62	6.00*

\*Significant at  $\alpha .01$ .



shrinkage was not considered to be serious. The  $R^2$  held up quite well.

Alternative Hypotheses Accepted at  $\alpha .01$

Step 1.       $R^2 \neq 0.$

Step 2.       $R^2_2 - R^2_1 \neq 0.$

Step 3.       $R^2_3 - R^2_2 \neq 0.$

Step 4.       $R^2_4 - R^2_3 \neq 0.$

The Second Analysis

The multiple regression problem was reconstructed in order to compare the initial results with the results from a second analysis where the dependent variable was now conceived in behavioral terms only. The behavioral index of activism, it may be recalled, consists of the ACT Scales, ACT-A and ACT-D (Kerpelman, 1969). The correlates of activism were shown to be more significant when the criterion variable was measured in terms of behavior (Tables 3, 4, and 5).

Table 10 reports on the combination of variables that best estimates activism when behavioral indices are used to measure that variable ( $N=243$ ). Employing the  $F_{critical}$  at  $\alpha .01$ , it was found that seven out of nine variables contributed to the estimate of variance. In fact, the first three variables entered the regression equation in the same order as the first three variables that entered in the first problem. Four new variables entered in the solution to the second regression problem. However, very little actual increase was observed in the  $R^2$  after Step 4. The last four variables entering, in order of entrance, were lack of succorance, father's annual income, Machiavellianism, and the student's year of university. The solution



to the second problem varied from the solution to the first mainly in terms of the entrance of these latter variables. This indicated that it made some difference as to how the criterion variable was specified.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### INTERPRETATIONS, ADDITIONAL FINDINGS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

#### I. INTERPRETATIONS

The major findings have been organized into a series of statements, first having to do with data previously reported, and second, having to do with insights emerging from supplementary data which was collected in private interviews with fourteen activist Ss. The order of the chapter has been arranged such that those generalizations which emerged from the statistical analysis ( $N=243$ ) could be stated first. However, even these statistical findings were interpreted in the light of what the smaller sample of activists had to say about the results.

After elaborating on the general statements the author formulated some conclusions having to do with the qualitative data gathered on the activist Ss. Such additional information helped to explain what the earlier data meant.

#### Psychological Variables

The psychological determinants of activism appeared to dominate over the sociological and over the process variables at the time of measurement (Tables 8 and 10), but the latter variables may have had their influence indirectly by assisting in the determination of those traits that surfaced and were measured as "psychological" characteristics. When the various correlates of student activism were combined for purposes of multi-correlational prediction, the psychological variables appeared to be more influential (Tables 8 and 10). The



variable that consistently predominated was cognitive complexity. More information was needed to validate and confirm this finding but the correlation ( $r = .48$ ) between cognitive complexity and activism was probably the most significant finding in this thesis.

Cognitive Orientation. It was difficult to decide how to phrase a general statement concerning the psychological characteristics of the activists who were investigated. A relationship was observed between cognitive complexity, theoretical orientation, autonomy and student activism (Tables 3 and 14). Additional facts supported the relationship between activism and intellectualism. Academic grades of the activists interviewed were observed to be higher than average. They also appeared to have high verbal facility and a pronounced sensitivity to prevailing social conditions and current political affairs. The Ss interviewed expressed a need to understand difficult social problems rather than to accept the idea that those problems could not be solved. Their obviously conscious attempt to change society indicated what Cooper has emphasized, namely a "strongly positive streak of social concern and moral indignation" (Cooper, 1970, p. 4). It may be that the moral and cognitive determinants of activism have been under-emphasized by social scientists who have tended to explain the behavior of youth in terms of social determinants only.

Activists are generally found to be academic and theoretical, but it seemed that the activist Ss in this study were more than "academically interested" in change. They have been seriously involved in discussion and action which would tend to promote change in the University and larger community. They frequently used the term



"participatory democracy" and some had lived in, or had helped to organize, communes, cooperatives and other voluntary organizations which offered alternatives to more established modes of existence.

These activists also sought opportunities to assist the oppressed and confront the "establishment." Such willingness to help some and confront others seemed to imply stronger than average commitment to certain goals and values. The self-confidence activists generate, which is especially evident when they stand firm against strongly antagonistic forces, could be an indication of solid ego development. Such ego strength usually develops from a person's opportunities to test and discover the "self" (Horney, 1942). In the course of their confrontational activity, the activists have probably had such opportunities.

Machiavellianism. At least three reasons may be given for looking more closely at the relationship between activism and Machiavellianism. First, the correlation between these variables was large enough to indicate directionality. Machiavellianism actually did contribute some of the variance in the second multiple regression analysis. Second, those activists who were interviewed, and other activists as well, have frankly admitted their Machiavellian tendencies. The following incident was reported in McGill News (November, 1968).

During the insurrection at Columbia, Rudd was asked by a Teachers' College coed, "But aren't you being manipulative, using people, when your real goal is to bring the University down, not simply halt the gymnasium construction?" Rudd thought a minute, then replied, "Yes, it is manipulation I guess, but it's honest manipulation because we tell the



people what we are doing. As I see it, America is in a pre-revolutionary stage. This is the time to educate the people to the basic corruption of society. Confrontation like this serves to educate the master (p. 18).

The finding that there is a slight positive correlation between activism and Machiavellianism should not be seen as a contradiction of the activists' allocentrivity. Schachtel had suggested that in the autocentric mode of perception "objects are most frequently perceived from the perspective of how they will serve a particular need of the perceiver, or how they can be used by him for some purpose" (p. 168). It is possible that a person could be Machiavellian in his actual behavior and yet not be completely utilitarian in reference to his perception. Mach V deals with behavior as opposed to perception and, as such, is not considered to be an index of autocentrivity.

It was assumed that the Mach V actually measured utilitarianism. Christie and Geis (1968) describe Machiavellians as manipulators who tend to use people for their own purposes. These people may gravitate to positions of power and they are more concerned with means than with ends. Christie also pointed out that "most good manipulators are so busy manipulating that they are not members of the audiences captured by most researchers" (p. 960). If this were actually the case, extremely manipulative Ss would have escaped investigation in this investigation as well. Considering that activists may be good manipulators as well, the possible absence of these Ss from the sample could have accounted, in part, for the rather small observed correlation between these two variables.

It is an oversimplification to relate dogmatism (or lack of it)  
to activism because dogmatism is a multidimensional phenomenon. The



D-Scale is composed of no fewer than twenty-two subdimensions. Positive, as well as negative and zero, correlations were observed between certain of these subdimensions and activism. Consequently, the overall correlation between dogmatism and activism was only -.11, although correlations between certain subscales and the criterion run as high as .30 (the tendency to make party-line change). One could see from this that any general statement concerning the relation of dogmatism to activism would be an oversimplification.

Dogmatism, in Rokeach's conceptualization (1960) is characterized by closed-mindedness. One mark of the closed-minded person is his "conscious or unconscious isolation within and between his belief and disbelief systems." Isolation refers to the degree of segregation or lack of communication between neighboring regions of a person's thought world. Activism did not prove to be related to the S's tendency to accentuate differences between his belief and disbelief systems ( $r = -.20$ ) nor was it related to the tendency to incorporate contradictions within the former ( $r = -.24$ ).

A second aspect of dogmatism has to do with belief content - fear of the future which is a measure of anxiety. On the whole, activism was negatively correlated with fear of the future ( $r = -.14$ ), feelings of urgency ( $r = -.16$ ) and repetition of ideas and arguments ( $r = -.14$ ). However, the activist subsample itself was 0.2 standard deviations above the mean on the last two categories. Mowrer (1950) re-emphasized Freud's distinction between "objective" anxiety which is rooted in realistic situational fear and "neurotic" anxiety which results from distorted perception. Anxiety is pathological only in



the latter case when it is based on unrealistic fear. It is true that the activists studied did score highly on certain of these anxiety scales. However, one needs to ascertain whether these anxieties are objective or unrealistic before these Ss are defined as being dogmatic.

Rokeach has interpreted fear of the future (which is measured in terms of generalized fear on the basis of the S's response to one scale item only), feelings of urgency and repetition of ideas as being additional characteristics of the dogmatic personality. However, caution should be exercised not to label a vehement exponent of a worthwhile cause as "dogmatic" when that person is actually well informed and truly concerned about that cause.

The third aspect of dogmatism concerned the S's belief about his own inadequacy and his defenses against this feeling. There did appear to be a relationship between these beliefs and feelings and activism. The Martyrdom Scale correlated ( $r = .21$ ) with activism as did the Self-Conflict Scale ( $r = .18$ ) and the Paranoia Scale ( $r = .12$ ). One should not necessarily regard these small correlations as indicative of a real relation between activism and dogmatism. It seemed plausible that two types of behavior labelled as paranoid which are not necessarily similar have been lumped into one category. Again, there is a realistic form of self-sacrifice as opposed to a neurotic or morbid form. It may be that a social activist does not regard himself as a martyr. In actual fact, however, if he wishes to act consistently with his values, there is a very real chance that he could be hurt in some manner. He may not have any underlying desire to jeopardize himself but when it comes to the worst he is willing to



make some sacrifice. In this case, he is hardly to be labelled as a martyr or paranoid. Such behavior should be described positively rather than in pathological terms.

Activism was not related to the authoritarianism index on the D-Scale. This measure has to do with the S's ability to tolerate "renegades" from prevailing belief systems and "disbelievers" who doubt many prevailing or commonly accepted beliefs.

The most important portion of the variance between activists and nonactivists on the D-Scale was explained by the interrelations among their "primitive, intermediate and peripheral beliefs." According to Rokeach, the more closed the system, the more will a change in a particular peripheral belief be determined by a prior change in the intermediate (authority) region. The primitive and intermediate regions are also thought to control what will be screened out. Negative correlations ( $r = -.30$ ) were observed between activism and the need for change along conventional party-lines and the tendency to avoid contact with facts and events incongruent with one's own belief-disbelief systems.

#### Sociological Variables

Exposure is the main factor underlying the sociological determinants of activism (Table 4). When one looks closely at the data on the sociological correlates of activism a generalization can be formulated. The sociological variables found to be significantly related to activism can be, directly or indirectly, regarded as indices of the S's exposure to ideas and a wider spectrum of experience.



Exposure, it appeared, was the most obvious common factor underlying the social determinants of activism. Exposure to ideas (as measured by travel, intercultural experience, and family mobility), having affluent and educated parents, having a university education and having a high degree of previous political participation all appeared to reflect this common factor (Table 4).

It is true that many of the leaders of the student protest movement received much of their training during demonstrations, teachings and confrontations in their early university years. However, in acquiring their activistic attitudes and behaviors many student protestors have been conditioned by events outside of the university. For instance, certain kinds of parental factors helped to create particular kinds of environments for these Ss in their formative years. It would appear that many activists had parents who were able to give them opportunities to learn. All the activists interviewed had attended good schools with superior libraries and educational facilities. The teachers in these schools are usually more competent than the teachers in the schools of less privileged areas (Conant, 1964).

What is the effect of previous exposure on activistic behavior? Provincialism tends to foster contentment with the status quo. A broader experience, however, teaches that alternatives are possible. The mobile person is more able to detect the problems that do exist and is probably more aware of other problems that could develop. He may be more anxious to change the attitudes of the people before it is too late. In the meantime, the activist insists on exposing social problems that do exist. He emphasizes the fact that we do not live



in a problem-free society but that we have merely chosen to close our eyes to some problems that need to be solved. The actual techniques for implementing changes are taught by experience.

## II. ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

### Maternal Influence

Although no linear statistical relations could be determined between any of the social perception variables and activism (Table 5), maternal influence was professed to be important. In the private interviews an interesting finding emerged. The activists generally reported a degree of intimacy with their parents other than in two cases where extreme alienation was described. This empirical fact seemed to suggest a curvilinear relation between parental ties and activism but this wasn't evident in the statistical findings.

It was clear, especially in the case of male Ss, that the activists had unique mothers whom they described as unusually influential, intelligent, altruistic, and affectionate. These mothers were described as not being overly demanding, restricting, or protective. The father was usually described as a strong, successful person who provided somewhat of a model. But the political attitudes of activists appeared to be patterned more after the mother than the father. These findings are supported by the findings of other researchers (Keniston, 1968).

### Activist Style

From empirical evidence, the fourteen activists studied could best be described as "mildly revolutionary" and/or, in some respects,



"profoundly conservative" (Tables 11 and 12). Many of the activists served on students' committees and belonged to other campus organizations (Table 11). One Jewish student had campaigned for the position of vice-president of the Students' Council. Several of the Ss had been involved in the Student Christian Movement which has become somewhat of a vanguard for activism and protest on the University of Alberta campus. However, the student organizations represented by the activist subsample could be regarded as "mildly revolutionary" rather than "extremist." The emphasis in such organizations goes beyond the idea of "parliamentary change" and "reformist" posture advocated by liberals and progressives who wish to operate within the present system. These organizations are not, on the other hand, as revolutionary or uncompromising as the Students for a Democratic University, Weathermen, Maoists, or Trotskyites ("Trots"). The political opinions and affiliations of these activist Ss placed them definitely left of centre. Perhaps they could be described as goodnatured (not bitter), constructive humanists.

In describing a group of activists Keniston (1968) felt that it was important to specify the extent to which they were actually committed to change. The most highly committed leaders are thought to differ markedly from their mildly activist followers. The activists described in this study were neither leaders or extremists but they are representative of many disenchanted Canadian students. It will become apparent from the foregoing that the activists in this study are (in many respects) "conservative" even in terms of the changes they wish to make.



TABLE 11

FREQUENCY DATA OF ACTIVISTS Ss, FACULTY, POLITICAL PREFERENCE, COUNTRY OF BIRTH, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, SEX, MEMBERSHIP IN UNIVERSITY CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

FACULTY OF REGISTRATION		POLITICAL PREFERENCE		
Arts	6	New Democratic	7	
Education	4	Liberal	3	
Graduate Studies	3	No choice	3	
Law	1	Social Credit	1	
Others	0	Others	0	
Total	<u>14</u>	Total		<u>14</u>

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (BLISHEN-PORTER INDEX)	SEX
Canada	11	Low
Great Britain	2	Middle
Australia	1	High
Total	<u>14</u>	Total
		<u>14</u>

MEMBERSHIP IN UNIVERSITY CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS		
Student Christian Movement		4
New Democratic Youth		3
Young Socialists		2
Household Economics Club		1
Political Club		1
Anthropology Club		1
Student Union		1



TABLE 12

SOME NOMINAL DATA ON THE ACTIVISTS' INVOLVEMENT AND  
CONCERN ABOUT SOCIAL ISSUES IN CANADA (N=14)

PROPORTIONAL PARTICIPATION OF THE ACTIVIST Ss IN CERTAIN  
1969-70 OCCURRENCES ON THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
CAMPUS WHICH WERE RELEVANT TO SOCIAL CHANGE

(1) The Ted Kemp tenure debate	8/14
(2) The Canadian Identity Teach-In (VGW)	7/14
(3) The Black Panthers presentation	7/14
(4) Viet Nam Moratorium Day	7/14
(5) The Teach-In on the Americanization of Canada	6/14
(6) Women's Liberation Front Emphasis Day	5/14

RANK ORDERING OF THE ISSUE PRIORITIES ELICITED FROM  
THE ACTIVISTS Ss DURING OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONING

(1) Concern expressed about the "irrelevance of education" and the need for "educational reform."	7/14
(2) Preservation of "Canadian autonomy" and the prevention of undue American influence.	6/14
(3) The need for "Canadian identity."	6/14
(4) The need for a more "socialistic" type of government.	5/14
(5) Action required re Canada's impoverished families.	5/14
(6) Concern about the problems experienced by Canada's Native population.	5/14
(7) The French-English problem.	4/14
(8) The need to reduce Canada's military involvements, e.g., cost-sharing with the U.S., arms production, extravagant defense budget, etc.	2/14
(9) Pollution.	2/14



The activist S's campus involvement and the issues they mentioned as being most needy of consideration can be discussed simultaneously since an apparent relation exists between them. The number one issue for these students was what they termed the "irrelevance of formal education." Meanwhile, the campus activity most activists in the sample had participated in was the Ted Kemp tenure debate. This, undoubtedly, was not an accidental occurrence because the central focus in this debate concerned the importance of teaching as a criterion for evaluation of university teachers for tenure. "Quality of teaching" is an issue which immediately affects the lives of students. Does this mean that activists are more concerned about the problems of students than the problems of persons outside of the university community since they rated the education issue so highly?

Activists would deny this. They would say that student problems, particularly the problems of education, are rooted in existing socio-economic structures and that, as a result, their solution lies first of all in recasting the structures in the educational sphere.

To substantiate the opinion that the activists are mainly concerned with issues affecting their own lives it is worth noting that the second most frequently mentioned issue had to do with the preservation of "Canadian autonomy" and the expressed need for "Canadian identity" (Table 12). It is understandable, therefore, that the Canadian identity and the Americanization of Canada teach-ins were quite well attended by the activists. When one considers it, such behavior is an expression of nationalistic feeling at a time when "internationalism" is the global theme of liberals, reformists and



ecumenicists. Nationalistic sentiment is particularly characteristic of Canadian activists and it tends to separate them from their counterparts in Europe and the United States. But the political and economic realities are also much different from the United States or Europe. While American radicals are decrying their own nation's imperialism, Canadians are trying to resist it. This patriotism, or need to defend the homeland, is an indication of a deeply conservative attitude which is expressed in some of the other issues which Canadian activists place high in priority. A description of the differences between Canadian and American activists is given by Laxer (1970).

A conservative attitude is sometimes explained as "a need to conserve that which is deemed valuable." Is there not a "need to conserve" expressed in the activists' almost desperate concern about Canadian autonomy, protecting the interests of Canada's native populations, protest concerning the spoiling of the environment, or the increasing irrelevance of the educational system? It should be noted that one demand in the field of educational reform was for a return to good teaching and a personalized learning environment (Table 12).

Another interesting finding was that the activists interviewed frequently expressed derision for the secular and/or pragmatic orientation in North American society. Secularism was defined by one sociologist as "the process of interpreting life more and more in terms of scientific cause and effect rather than in terms of tradition and belief" (Landis, 1964, p. 507). The author is not entirely sure that this is what the activist Ss had in mind when they referred to



secularism. It was found, however, that secularism and pragmatism had been associated by the Ss with "progressive economics" and its accompanying philosophy. Conversely, anti-secularism was regarded as a conservative attitude. In explaining this sentiment it is important to mention that three of the activists were sons of ministers of religion and at least two others had been raised in orthodox religious homes. The feelings some of these Ss expressed remind one of certain statements by T. S. Eliot (1955), who was alienated from society while his thinking was regarded as reactionary in many respects. Not only was he opposed to modernistic forces that impel people to accept their bureaucratic lot in life, but he sought refuge in a mind of earlier ages in which he could seek protection from modern evils. His hatred for the "secular" was a hatred of all those rational forces which have dehumanized mankind by demanding technological progress. T. S. Eliot (in Hayward, 1953) commented:

...the whole of modern literature is corrupted by what I call Secularism...it is simply unaware of, simply cannot understand the meaning of, the primacy of the supernatural over the natural life, of something which I assume to be our primary concern (pp. 41-42).

T. S. Eliot and some of the present day radicals are united in their scorn for Utopians, liberals and those who had a shallow belief in progress and "other sentimentalities that have nothing to do with religion, and therefore with the truth." The radicals and T. S. Eliot may be disturbingly close in believing that there should be a return to folk society, and on the idea of the existence of an "intellectual aristocracy." This feeling came through, albeit subtly, in the kinds of things activists said about the "uneducated masses," the need to



radicalize the "bourgeoisie" and in their anti-rationalism as well. The activists have appeared to many as over-zealous youths who feel that they, and they alone, have seen the light. These feelings are "elitist" rather than "democratic," and this point is repeated by Edmund Glenn (1969) in his article entitled "The University and the Revolution: New Left or New Right?"

Some facts are not consonant with the idea of a religious dimension in the activist movement. Cynical pragmatists probably view the activists as master strategists with specific political aims in mind. Certainly, any religious bent of the activists is not expressed in conventional terms. For instance, they did not place much emphasis on an "other wordly" view. They ranked "salvation" last in their list of personal goals. Furthermore, the traditional Christian value of "forgiveness" was ranked twelfth on the instrumental value scale (Table 13). Therefore, certain evidence does not support the idea of a "religious activist" but rather, of a "pragmatic activist" in disguise (Table 3 reports the Mach V results).

The findings regarding the activists' faculty of university registration, political preference, and campus involvements were as expected. They were registered in arts, education and graduate studies (Table 11). The professional schools, business, engineering and science faculties were not represented except for a Jewish student in law.

#### Generation Gap?

The concept of a "generation gap" is not adequate as an explanation for the activists' disenchantment with society. Flacks



TABLE 13

THE ACTIVISTS' VALUE HIERARCHY AS PER THE ROKEACH  
TERMINAL AND INSTRUMENTAL VALUE SCALES

TERMINAL VALUES		INSTRUMENTAL VALUES	
Wisdom	4.2	Honest	3.0
Equality	4.5	Broadminded	4.5
A world at peace	4.6	Imaginative	4.5
Freedom	5.5	Intellectual	5.2
A world of beauty	6.3	Courageous	5.8
Self-respect	6.3	Independent	7.2
Inner harmony	6.5	Responsible	8.0
Mature love	7.1	Logical	8.5
Accomplishment	7.3	Loving	8.5
An exciting life	9.3	Helpful	8.8
Happiness	10.0	Capable	9.6
True friendship	10.2	Forgiving	10.6
Family security	13.8	Self-controlled	10.8
Social recognition	14.0	Cheerful	12.0
Pleasure	14.5	Ambitious	13.6
A comfortable life	14.5	Polite	16.3
National security	15.6	Clean	16.5
Salvation	17.2	Obedient	17.3



(1967) and Keniston (1968) have said that this concept does not necessarily apply here since the activist appears, a good deal of the time, to have adequate relations with his own parents (reported earlier). They do, however, express some disgust with the stereotyped North American parent whom they regard as basically hypocritical. The problem, as activists see it, is that a double standard exists when one compares the official philosophy of society to that which is actually practised by the adherents of that philosophy. If there is a generation gap, it doesn't seem to be between the activists and their own parents. It is, rather, between activists and other peoples' parents who represent this double standard.

Another opinion is that the generation gap is one of misunderstanding, but not necessarily one of power (Reid, 1969) and that the real power struggle is between the "young and the young" to determine who will hold power in the future. It is true that the activists ranked their peer relations lower than their parental relations (Table 14) and they have been found in the past to express peer independence (Paulus, 1968). Perhaps it is true that the non-radicals don't need to fight because the older generation will support them anyway. The protestors wanting change are going to have to struggle for it (McGuigan, 1968). It seems to be a fact that "radical long hairs" despise "straights" and "greasers," and it is doubtful whether "straights" and "greasers" would try to communicate with the radicals.

#### Values

On the Terminal Scale activists generally seemed to prefer



goals that would benefit society in contrast to goals that could only be realized on the personal level. However, on the Instrumental Scale, they valued "intellective-independence" behaviors more than behaviors which had to do with concern and empathy for others (Table 13). The activists Ss were requested to complete the Rokeach Value Survey. This is a simple two-dimensional measure of values that has proven to be reliable in previous studies (Rokeach, 1970). The Survey includes "terminal values" which have to do with a person's life goals and "instrumental values" which have to do with behavior. The reason for separating instrumental and terminal values, according to Rokeach, is that "people sometimes agree on their goals in life, but they differ on the best means of reaching them."

The terminal goals most highly valued by activists were wisdom, equality, and a world at peace (Table 13). Toward the bottom of their list the activists placed pleasure, a comfortable life, national security, and salvation. Rokeach ranked two of the highly valued goals, equality and a world at peace, as "social goals" since the realization of these goals would benefit society generally. He regarded pleasure, a comfortable life and salvation as being more "personalized goals" since they can be realized by a private individual without any consideration of the goals of society at large. With the exceptions of wisdom which the activists ranked highest and national security which they ranked second last, the activists gave preference to those goals which would benefit society generally. It was discovered in the interviews that their negative reaction to national security was due to their association of that term with



militarism and the over-emphasis given to national security by "hawks who paranoically fear an attack on the 'Free World' by alien forces."

On the Instrumental Scale, the activists gave preference to honest, broadminded, imaginative, intellectual, courageous, and independent. These top rated behaviors could be thought of as an "intellective-independence" complex of values on the basis of content examination. Given median preference were responsible, loving, helpful, and forgiving. On the basis of face validity this group of values could be regarded as a "concern for others" complex. Behaviors given least preference were self-control, cheerful, ambitious, clean, polite, and obedient. The emphasis of these latter values would appear to be on etiquette and social conformity.

Perhaps the finding that activists ranked the "intellective-independence" complex higher than the "concern for others" complex is disappointing for those who prefer to think of them as being a vanguard of humanitarianism. As a matter of fact, there seems to be some conflict between goals and behavior evident in the way activists rank these values. On one hand, the activist Ss valued goals that would benefit all mankind. On the other, they do not show extreme preference for those instrumental values or behaviors that have to do with bettering the lot of their fellow humans. Perhaps this is a clue to their complexity. Perhaps these findings are simply due to the bluntness of the Value Survey which attempts to measure values in such a simplified manner.

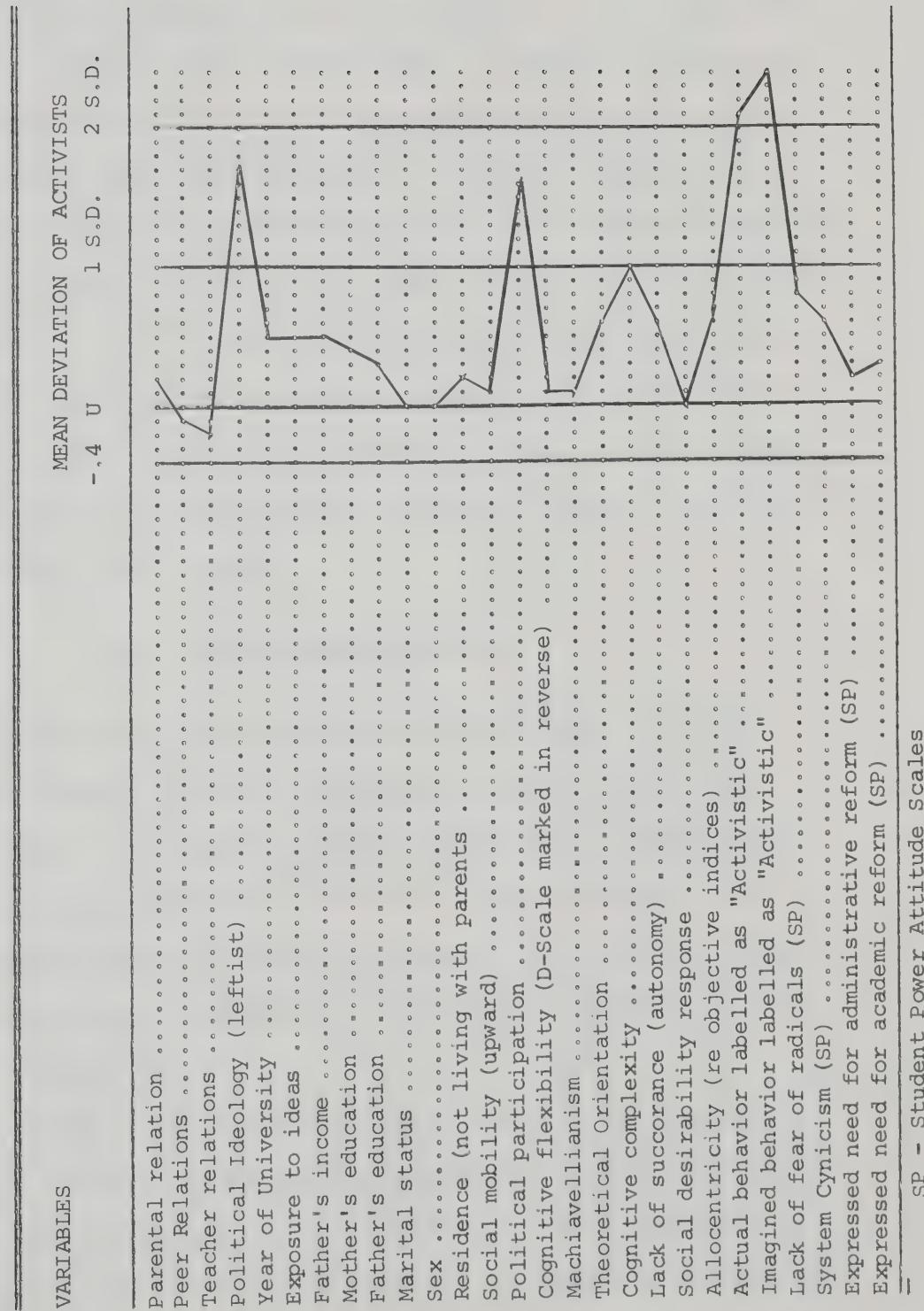
#### Student Power?

Student power attitudes did not relate to activism to the



TABLE 14

PROFILE OF MEAN STANDARD SCORES OF THE ACTIVIST SAMPLE (N=14) IN COMPARISON  
TO THE POPULATION MEAN (U) BASED ON THE RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243)





degree expected (Table 14). Was this indicative of a validity problem, namely, that the SP Scales may not have measured what they purported to measure? It may be that "student power" is decreasingly important as an activist theme. The changing emphasis among radical youth is illustrated by a "head" who is reported to have questioned an S.D.S. member distributing revolutionary literature at the Woodstock Festival, "Hey man, why don't you drop the propaganda and join the Revolution?" (Batten, 1969, p. 19). Another distinct possibility is that the so-called "activists" studied in this investigation are not the kind to be involved in the "student power" movement. They, in fact, appeared to be quite moderate in comparison to those that have been associated with the student power movement.

### III. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

An attempt was made to summarize and reiterate some of the comments the activist Ss made concerning the need for educational change. Perhaps it is time to consider seriously the charges levied against the educational system by the more radical students. Frequently regarded merely as "system disturbers," the activists seemed to be concerned about the failings of the educational system and its philosophy (or lack of it).

One demand of the radicals is for a change in the emphasis of many schools from that of pretending to prepare potential workers for particular jobs in the "factory" to providing a more creative experience for each student. Education, they say, has become a tool for an



economic way of life that disregards certain aspects of human potential. The task of teaching has traditionally been to implement the master plan of some super system as provided in an "official" curriculum.

Some of the activist Ss mentioned that they were upset about the fact that admission policies for many of our institutions of "higher learning" are geared toward getting the "best" students (from the institutions point of view) rather than finding the education which would best suit each student. Their opinion was that an education should provide an opportunity for each person to pursue his social and academic needs as he sees fit, rather than restrict him to the need of an institution to perpetuate itself in its present form. Activists feel that an element of academic freedom is available in the "best" schools and that realization of human potential is more possible in some schools than in others. But the "best" schools are reserved for very few people. There is legitimate claim to the argument that if the educational system now exists only to discriminate against learners rather than to serve in a somewhat egalitarian fashion, it should be changed.

Third, students no longer accept the idea that education should occur in a value-free vacuum. Nor do they feel that the present "progressive" or "liberal" model of American education is really value-free. Most of the activists interviewed regarded the present Canadian educational system as patterned on a model only pretending to be value-free but which actually advances the values of the prevailing economic system. They regard the value-free, or the pretended value-free, model



of instruction as one of the prime reasons for the sterility of the present system. Liberal educators have advanced the idea of the "best for the most" and the "melting pot" philosophy of education for the past few decades. Inherent in this pragmatic assumption the activists detect a fundamental fallacy. This fallacy is simply the belief that conflict and injustice can be undone by assimilation.

The radical model of education insists that each individual develop to his fullest potential. This model does not demand immediate homogenization of knowledge and people. Indeed, the "melting pot" objective and assimilation are quite foreign to radical aims. By contrast, there should be a systematic attempt to cultivate the various cultural, ethnic, and individual contributions to knowledge and understanding. The error of the "democrats" according to some of the more radical activists, is that they have regarded assimilation as the only means of achieving social tranquility. The activist Ss emphasized the value of pluralism, whereas "liberals" strive for a Utopian society which they believe can be achieved through compromise, assimilation and majority opinion on political matters.

Fourth, the radicals desire a university which does not stress "professionalization" at the expense of educating the student. The activists consider some academics as "private practitioners in disguise." The universities, they say, should not be operated mainly as training grounds for professionals and technicians. When teaching is reduced to the level of training to meet the standards of professionalism and when research is geared merely to the needs of professors to publish and gain stature within the university, students as learners



cannot help but be overlooked. Practices such as that just mentioned, esoteric knowledge, and forms of education that function to perpetuate an oligarchic community of nepotistic academics should be discouraged according to the activists.

Some of these seemingly logical demands are regarded as totally unacceptable by certain educators who regard the activists as "destructive anarchists." "Students should understand their place," Ronald Reagan has said. But some students have become almost incapable of enduring this paternalistic attitude.

It will only antagonize a student radical to tell him that he is acting like a child and that his demands are totally unreasonable. Also, the radical activist is increasingly suspect of invitations to participate in any decision-making process that only functions to perpetuate present conditions. He believes that this process usually allows only token change. The activist usually wishes to change institutions themselves, rather than minor processes within those institutions.



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APPENDIX A  
ADDITIONAL TABLES



TABLE 15

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE  
VARIOUS INDICES OF STUDENT ACTIVISM (N=243)



TABLE 16

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE INDICES OF STUDENT ACTIVISM FOR THE RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243) AND FOR THE ACTIVIST SUBSAMPLE (N=14)

VARIABLES	RANDOM MEAN	S.D.	ACTIVIST MEAN	S.D.
Actual Behavior (ACT-A)	19.79	6.01	32.39	5.82
Imagined Behavior (ACT-D)	29.90	11.72	52.06	5.61
Attitudes (Student Power)				
Lack of Fear of Radicals	22.05	6.71	27.19	3.12
System Cynicism	19.91	3.82	22.06	2.57
Administrative Reform	11.06	2.67	11.73	0.59
Academic Reform	9.14	1.55	9.66	0.48
Behavioral Total	49.69	16.91	84.45	9.85
Student Power Attitude Total	59.85	8.58	67.39	4.70
Activism Total	107.67	21.26	150.26	11.44



TABLE 17

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS  
 BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND THE VARIOUS  
 INDICES OF ACTIVISM (N=243)

CRITERION SCALES	CORRELATIONS
Actual Activism (ACT-A)	* .38
Imagined Activism (ACT-D)	* .41
Lack of Fear of Radicals	.09
System Cynicism	* .30
Attitude favoring Administrative Reform	* .25
Attitude favoring Academic Reform	.11
Total on the Behavioral Measures	* .41
Student Power Attitude Total	* .28
Activism Composite	* .44

\*Significant at .05 level.



TABLE 18

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL  
VARIABLES FOR THE RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243) AND  
FOR THE ACTIVIST SUBSAMPLE (N=14)

VARIABLES	RANDOM MEAN	S.D.	ACTIVIST MEAN	S.D.
* Rokeach Dogmatism Scale	204.53	27.14	206.79	33.17
Machiavellianism Scale	3.08	1.34	3.20	1.32
Theoretical Orientation	45.18	5.28	48.33	4.43
Cognitive Complexity	47.13	5.85	52.86	4.94
Lack of Succorance	32.00	4.05	34.46	2.13
Social Desirability Response	11.46	1.36		
Allocentricty	197.68	17.84	210.00	19.07

\*The D-Scale was scored in reverse in order to add the individual scores to the respective allocentricty scores.



TABLE 19

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL  
 VARIABLES FOR THE RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243) AND  
 FOR THE ACTIVIST SUBSAMPLE (N=14)

VARIABLES	RANDOM MEAN	S.D.	ACTIVIST MEAN	S.D.
Political Ideology	39.04	5.95	48.46 (left)	6.34
Age	20.1 yrs.	1.55	20.4 yrs.	1.74
Year of University	2.54	1.37	3.20	1.61
Exposure to ideas (index)	10.20	4.03	12.26	3.30
Father's Income	\$7000		\$9000	
Mother's Education	12 years		14 years	
Father's Education	12 years		14 years	
Sex	141/243 male		9/14 male	
Marital Status	61/243 married		4/14 married	
Present Residence	102/243 with parents		5/14 with parents	
Upward Social Mobility	6.33	1.17	6.40	1.12
Political Participation	1.67	0.90	2.26	0.88



TABLE 20

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS  
 VARIABLES FOR THE RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243) AND  
 FOR THE ACTIVIST SUBSAMPLE (N=14)

VARIABLES	RANDOM MEAN	S.D.	ACTIVIST MEAN	S.D.
Parental Acceptance	5.95	2.21	4.66	2.19
Parental Control	5.91	2.30	5.93	3.03
Parental Communication	4.83	2.50	4.26	2.49
Parental Relations (tot)	16.70	5.15	14.86	6.19
Peer Acceptance	6.09	2.03	6.40	2.29
Peer Control	5.52	2.10	5.93	1.86
Peer Communication	5.64	2.32	5.40	1.50
Peer Relations (tot)	17.26	4.84	17.73	3.45
Teacher Acceptance	5.39	2.48	5.73	2.71
Teacher Control	4.97	2.40	5.40	2.64
Teacher Communication	4.06	2.38	4.53	2.50
Teacher Relations (tot)	14.43	5.25	15.66	6.56



TABLE 21

PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN  
 SOCIAL DESIRABILITY RESPONSE (OPI) AND  
 THE OTHER VARIABLES (N=243)

VARIABLES	CORRELATION	VARIABLES	CORRELATION
<u>Social Perceptions</u>			
Parental Acceptance	.07	Residence	.03
Parental Control	.06	Social Mobility	-.08
Parental Communication	-.01	Political Activity	.08
Peer Acceptance	.15	<u>Psychological Variables</u>	
Peer Control	.13	Dogmatism	-.09
Peer Communication	.04	Machiavellianism	-.35*
Teacher Acceptance	.08	Theoretical Orientation	.00
Teacher Control	.07	Cognitive Complexity	.04
Teacher Communication	.05	Succorance	.10
<u>Sociological Variables</u>			
Political Ideology	-.02	<u>Actual Behavior</u>	
Age	.10	Imagined Behavior	-.04
Year of University	.01	Fear of Radicals	-.06
Exposure to ideas	.01	System Cynicism	.07
Father's Income	.00	Administrative Reform	-.09
Mother's Education	-.03	Academic Reform	-.04
Father's Education	-.05	Behavioral Total	-.01
Sex	.05	Attitudinal Total	-.00
Marital Status	.05	Activism Composite	-.01

\*The reason this correlation is high is that the S.D. and the Machiavellian tests are both part of Christie's Mach V which is designed so as to produce a negative relationship between these variables.



TABLE 22

STEP-WISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ON THE FIRST RANDOM SAMPLE (N=123)  
 UTILIZING THE BEST FOUR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WHICH ARE  
 PRESUMED, FOR THEORETICAL AND/OR EMPIRICAL REASONS TO  
 BE RELATED TO STUDENT ACTIVISM WHICH IS DESIGNATED,  
 IN THIS CASE, AS A COMPOSITE OF ALL THE BEHAVIORAL  
 AND ATTITUDINAL INDICES OF THE CRITERION

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## STEP 1

Variable entering	Cognitive Complexity
F value for variable entering	34.57
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	22.66
Standard error of predicted Y	15.09

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF		SS	MS	F	P
Regression	1.	14263.63	14263.63	62.56	.01
Residual	241.	54943.98	227.98		
Total	242.	69207.62			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Cognitive Complexity	0.45	1.31	0.16
Constant = 13.732			

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TABLE 22 (continued)

## STEP 2

Variable entering	Political Ideology
F value for variable entering	12.87
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	30.32
Standard error of predicted Y	14.32

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF		SS	MS	F	P
Regression	2.	19905.71	9952.85	48.45	.01
Residual	240.	49301.91	205.42		
Total	242.	69207.62			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.30	0.85	0.16
Cognitive Complexity	0.36	1.03	0.16

Constant = 34.159



TABLE 22 (continued)

## STEP 3

Variable entering	Political Participation
F value for variable entering	13.04
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	37.36
Standard error of predicted Y	13.88

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	3.	23133.93	7711.31	40.00	.01
Residual	239	46073.69	192.77		
Total	242.	69207.62			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.30	0.87	0.15
Political Participation	0.21	4.05	0.98
Cognitive Complexity	0.35	1.02	0.16
Constant = 40.956			



TABLE 22 (continued)

## STEP 4

Variable entering	Parents' Education
F value for variable entering	9.91
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	42.34
Standard error of predicted Y	13.65

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	4.	24801.09	6200.27	33.23
Residual	238.	44406.52	186.58	
Total	242.			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.30	0.87	0.15
Political Participation	0.21	4.01	0.97
Cognitive Complexity	0.29	0.85	0.16
Lack of Succorance	0.16	0.69	0.23

Constant = 55.14



TABLE 23

STEP-WISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ON THE TOTAL RANDOM SAMPLE (N=243)  
 UTILIZING THE BEST SEVEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WHICH ARE  
 PRESUMED, FOR THEORETICAL AND/OR EMPIRICAL REASONS TO  
 BE RELATED TO STUDENT ACTIVISM WHICH IS SPECIFIED,  
 IN THIS CASE, AS A BEHAVIORAL CRITERION  
 INCLUDING BOTH REAL AND IMAGINED  
 BEHAVIOR (ACT-A and ACT-D)

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## STEP 1

Variable entering	Cognitive Complexity
F value for variable entering	62.56
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	20.60
Standard error of predicted Y	17.64

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	1.	10767.39	10767.39	34.57
Residual	118.			.01
Total	119.			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
16	0.47	1.50	0.25
Constant = 35.13			

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TABLE 23 (continued)

## STEP 2

Variable entering	Political Ideology
F value for variable entering	27.46
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	28.76
Standard error of predicted Y	16.82

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	2.	14409.80	7204.90	25.4
Residual	117.	33109.19	282.98	
Total	119.	47519.00		

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.29	1.08	0.30
Cognitive Complexity	0.38	1.21	0.26

Constant = 6.947



TABLE 23 (continued)

## STEP 3

Variable entering	Political Participation
F value for variable entering	16.74
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	33.42
Standard error of predicted Y	16.01

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression 3.	17756.02	5918.67	23.06	.01
Residual 116.	29762.98	256.58		
Total 119.	47519.00			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.28	1.07	0.28
Political Participation	0.26	5.89	1.63
Cognitive Complexity	0.39	1.23	0.24
Constant = 3.018			



TABLE 23 (continued)

## STEP 4

Variable entering	Lack of Succorance
F value for variable entering	8.93
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance account for	35.83
Standard error of predicted Y	15.43

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression 4.	20117.80	5029.44	21.10	.01
Residual 115.	27401.19	238.27		
Total 119.	47519.00			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.28	1.05	0.27
Mother's Education	0.22	4.30	1.36
Political Participation	0.27	6.10	1.57
Cognitive Complexity	0.36	1.15	0.23

Constant = 12.317



TABLE 23 (continued)

## STEP 5

Variable entering	Father's Income
F value for variable entering	6.96
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	37.66
Standard error of predicted Y	13.49

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF		SS	MS	F	P
Regression	5.	26069.01	5213.80	28.64	.01
Residual	237.	43138.60	182.01		
Total	242.	69207.62			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.32	0.92	0.15
Income	0.13	2.57	0.97
Political Participation	0.21	4.07	0.96
Lack of Succorance	0.17	0.71	0.22

Constant = 59.27



TABLE 23 (continued)

## STEP 6

Variable entering	Machiavellianism (Mach V)
F value for variable entering	7.49
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	39.58
Standard error of predicted Y	13.31

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of	DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression	6.	27396.75	4566.12	25.77	.01
Residual	236.	41810.87	177.16		
Total	242.	69207.62			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.33	0.96	0.15
Income	0.15	2.84	0.96
Political Participation	0.22	4.12	0.94
Mach V	0.14,	1.76	0.64
Cognitive Complexity	0.26	0.75	0.16
Lack of Succorance	0.15	0.63	0.22

Constant = 64.201



TABLE 23 (continued)

## STEP 7

Variable entering	Year of University
F value for variable entering	6.00
Probability level	.01
Percent of variance accounted for	41.09
Standard error of predicted Y	13.17

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE

Source of DF	SS	MS	F	P
Regression 7.	28438.60	4062.65	23.41	.01
Residual 235.	40769.02	173.48		
Total 242.	49207.62			

## REGRESSION WEIGHTS

Variables	Standard Weights	Weights	Standard Errors
Ideology	0.32	0.90	0.15
Year of University	0.12	1.55	0.63
Income	0.15	2.83	0.95
Political Participation	0.21	4.03	0.94
Mach V	0.14	1.83	0.64
Cognitive Complexity	0.27	0.79	0.16
Lack of Succorance	0.12	0.54	0.22
Constant = 64.673			



APPENDIX B  
THE INDICES OF ACTIVISM



## ACTIVITY SCALE

(Behavioral indices of activism)

by LARRY C. KERPELMAN and MICHAEL J. WEINER

### DIRECTIONS

This is a survey for research purposes only, and as such, there are no right or wrong answers. We are seeking to measure students' experiences and expectations concerning certain general issues. Please read each question carefully and blacken in the appropriate space in the answer sheet according to the response that comes most closely to your actual state of affairs.

In the following questions the word "issues" refers solely to broad political and social issues on or off campus. Campus issues that have little or no broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of food service, grading practices, teaching practices) are not to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory. Campus issues that would have broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of controversial speakers or films, controversial books in the library) are to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory. Off campus issues that have no broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of city or town tax policy, local school board appointments, etc.) are not to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory. Off campus issues that would have broad political or social implications (such as support or protest of U.S. foreign policy, major election campaigns, etc.) are to be considered issues for the purposes of this inventory.



1. How many times in the past three years have you organized a group to support or protest a political or social issue?
  - a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
2. How many times in the past three years have you led, or directly assisted in leading, an already organized group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
  - a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
3. How many times in the past three years have you participated in a group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
  - a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
4. How many times in the past three years have you engaged in an extended argument with anyone over a political or social issue?
  - a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
5. How many times in the past three years have you addressed a formal audience (i.e., been a scheduled speaker) concerning a political or social issue?
  - a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
6. Approximately how much time during the average day do you spend trying to convince others to support or protest political or social issues?
  - a) less than b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min.- d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.  
15 min. 1 hr.
7. Approximately how much time during the average day do you spend discussing political or social issues?
  - a) less than b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min.- d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.  
15 min. 1 hr.
8. How many times in the past three years have you written something (pamphlet, handout, etc.) designed specifically to either inform or convince other people concerning a political or social issue?
  - a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times



9. How many books during the average month do you read on political or social issues?
- a) 0              b) 1-2              c) 3-4              d) 5-6              e) 7 or more
10. How much time during the average day do you spend reading material, the bulk of which includes news, comment, or factual information on political or social issues?
- a) less than 15 min.      b) 15-30 min.      c) 30 min.- 1 hr.      d) 1-2 hr.      e) more than 2 hr. 1 hr.
11. How many times during the average month do you attend meetings which have as their focus political or social issues?
- a) 0 times      b) 1-2 times      c) 3-4 times      d) 5-6 times      e) 7 or more times
12. How many times in an average month do you go to hear scheduled speakers talking about political or social issues?
- a) 0 times      b) 1-2 times      c) 3-4 times      d) 5-6 times      e) 7 or more times
- Imagine yourself as having been free from all financial, social, academic, etc. responsibilities or any other commitments on your time during the past three years. Answer the following questions in terms of what you would have liked to have done if that were the case.
13. How many times in the last three years would you have liked to have organized a group to support or protest a political or social issue?
- a) 0 times      b) 1-2 times      c) 3-4 times      d) 5-6 times      e) 7 or more times
14. How many times in the last three years would you have liked to have led, or directly assisted in leading, an already organized group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
- a) 0 times      b) 1-2 times      c) 3-4 times      d) 5-6 times      e) 7 or more times
15. How many times in the last three years would you have liked to have participated in a group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
- a) 0 times      b) 1-2 times      c) 3-4 times      d) 5-6 times      e) 7 or more times
16. How many times in the last three years would you have liked to have engaged in an extended argument with anyone over a political or social issue?
- a) 0 times      b) 1-2 times      c) 3-4 times      d) 5-6 times      e) 7 or more times



17. How many times in the past three years would you have liked to have addressed a formal audience (i.e., been a scheduled speaker) concerning a political or social issue?
- a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
18. Approximately how much time during the average day would you like to spend convincing others to support or protest political or social issues?
- a) less than b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min.- d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.  
15 min. 1 hr.
19. Approximately how much time during the average day would you like to spend discussing political or social issues?
- a) less than b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min.- d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.  
15 min. 1 hr.
20. How many times during the past three years would you have liked to have written something (pamphlet, handout, etc.) designed specifically to either inform or convince other people concerning a political or social issue?
- a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
21. How many books during the average month would you have liked to have read on political or social issues?
- a) 0 b) 1-2 c) 3-4 d) 5-6 e) 7 or more
22. How much time during the average day would you like to spend reading material, the bulk of which includes news, comment, or factual information on political or social issues?
- a) less than b) 15-30 min. c) 30 min.- d) 1-2 hr. e) more than 2 hr.  
15 min. 1 hr.
23. How many times during the average month would you like to attend meetings which have as their focus political or social issues?
- a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times
24. How many times in the average month would you like to go to hear a scheduled speaker talking about political or social issues?
- a) 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times



## STUDENT POWER SCALES

(Note: These scales may not be used without the permission of Sharon Sutherland.)

## NEED FOR ACADEMIC REFORM

1. It is the student's education at stake, so he should have a voice in what kind of an education he gets at the university.
2. The university administration, like that of a city, province, or nation, should be controlled by the people for whom it is administering, that is, faculty and students.
3. Students could make significant contributions to tenure discussions.
4. University students definitely deserve a say in setting broad university policies regarding the development of future academic programs, campus planning and other matters.
5. Students should definitely have a voice in determining course content and required courses.

## LACK OF FEAR OF RADICALS AND RADICALISM

6. The existing Students Union is an adequate means for presenting student demands to the university.
7. Radical students are a bigger threat to the ordinary student than are the faculty and administrators.
8. Radical students would probably dominate any student attempts to participate in the running of the university.
9. Marxist cliches and intellectual jargon are so much a part of the student radicals' vocabulary that their view of reality is distorted.
10. Power in university decision-making, not influence, is what students should aspire to.
11. If the radical students had anything to say, they wouldn't find it necessary to attract attention by freakish dress and hair styles.
12. It would probably be best for the university if faculty and administrators took a hard line with student power advocates.



13. Generally speaking, the S.D.U. people have a pretty good understanding of the way this university is run.
14. Students should have as much say in running the university as "older and more experienced" faculty and administrators.
15. The greatest obstacle to meaningful change at this university is the S.D.U. because its irresponsible membership antagonizes faculty and administration.
16. Student opinion ought to be considered and weighed, but the university's final decisions must always remain faculty right and responsibility.
17. A show of power may be the only way some faculty and administrators can be convinced of the sincerity of student desires to share in the running of the university.
18. S.D.U.'s demands for student power are realistic, and should be supported by the student body in general.
19. If the student radicals care so much about suffering, they should go where the action really is, like our own Indian reserves, Viet Nam, or South America, instead of stirring up unnecessary trouble in the university.

#### SYSTEM CYNICISM AND REJECTION

20. Student's Union activists are just a bunch of clean-cut guys who don't know where the action is, and probably don't care.
21. Because of the "dog-eat-dog", "publish-or-perish" situation that exists, most university faculty members can't be expected to be overly concerned about student needs.
22. Students should demand the abolition of the university's tenure system for professors.
23. University professors are usually too dogmatic. They think everything they say has to be right.
24. A university student probably learns more from discussions with fellow students than he does from faculty.
25. University courses don't deal with the important questions; they deal with the trivia that surrounds these questions.
26. Generally speaking, once a professor has tenure, he ceases to care much about students.



27. University lectures are generally dry and boring.
28. There are ample opportunities for university students to talk to professors.
29. A student at this university is just a 1/16" hole in an IBM punch card.
30. University administrators just don't give a damn about how their decisions affect students' lives.
31. Going to university is largely a matter of luck and social background.
32. The university should be far more critical of society, and far less oriented towards the status quo.
33. Many faculty members won't take radical positions on issues because they are afraid of losing their jobs.
34. By the time most students find out what is going on at the university, it has already happened.
35. Drastic changes are so badly needed at the university that it makes one angry to think that the question is even debatable.

#### NEED FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

36. Decision-making in university affairs would take up too much of the student's time and might stand in the way of important learning.
37. Students don't need a vote on the university's Board of Governors.
38. Students already have a big enough voice in university affairs.
39. If students had votes in the university's official governing bodies, they probably wouldn't know what to do with them.
40. Students have a responsibility to be concerned, informed, and active participants in the running of the university.
41. Because they are here for such a short time, students have very little real stake in what goes on at the university.



## SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS INDICATOR

### DIRECTIONS

You are asked to describe some of your interpersonal relationships in the following questionnaire.

When describing these interpersonal relationships, try to be objective. That is, try to think of your social situation as it compares with that of others, not simply as it appears to you.

Take an example for fun and practice. Think of your parents. Would you describe them as generally "affectionate" or as "aloof". Or, were your parents fairly average on this characteristic (in comparison to other parents)? A five-point scale is provided on which you are to rank your parents from "affectionate" to "aloof".

#### EXAMPLE

1. Affectionate    A---B---C---D---E    Aloof

#### PROCEDURE

If your parents are very affectionate, mark (A) on your IBM answer sheet.

If your parents are moderately affectionate, mark (B) on your IBM answer sheet.

If your parents are average on this characteristic, mark (C) on your IBM answer sheet.

If your parents are moderately aloof, mark (D) on your IBM answer sheet.

If your parents are very aloof, mark (E) on your IBM answer sheet.

Now, of course, this only tells part of the story on the affectionate to aloof continuum. A "consistency-unpredictable" factor enters in as well. Therefore, it is necessary for you to qualify your initial answer. For instance, it may be that only one of your parents was affectionate. Your parents, together, with have to be rated as unpredictable on this characteristic. It is up to you to decide how to answer but, please be objective.

Now remember, you have already ranked your parents as being affectionate or aloof or average. The next question asks you to qualify your description.



EXAMPLE

Affectionate-Aloof

2. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable (at any given time).

Again, mark your answer on the IBM answer sheet.

Another important qualification involves the "continuity-irregularity" factor. This means that, over time, your parents could have been continuously affectionate or continuously aloof or vice versa. So, rank this third dimension.

EXAMPLE

Affectionate-Aloof

3. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular (from one time to another)

The same principles will apply to all of the following questions. You will be asked to rank your interpersonal relationships with others along a continuum which always has a middle point as well as extremes. If you are unsure of any answer, mark (C).

Remember, you are on the fourth question. Begin here.

My parents' attitude toward me could be described as:

4. Accepting A---B---C---D---E Rejecting

Note A. Accepting relations are characterized by openness, understanding and trust.

Accepting-Rejecting

5. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Accepting-Rejecting

6. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

The relationship I have with my parents could be described as:

7. Independent A---B---C---D---E Dependent

Note B. Dependent relations are defined as those in which a person is controlled or not allowed to make his own decisions. An overprotective attitude exists toward a person who is dependent and he is not given much responsibility.



Dependent-Independent

8. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Dependent-Independent

9. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

The relationship I have with my parents could be described as:

10. Communicative A---B---C---D---E Noncommunicative

Note C. Communicative relations are those in which the participants discuss most matters openly with regard to each others' opinions.

Communicative-Noncommunicative

11. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Communicative-Noncommunicative

12. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

My friends' attitude toward me could be described as:

13. Accepting A---B---C---D---E Rejecting

Accepting-Rejecting

14. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Accepting-Rejecting

15. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

The relationship I have with my friends could be described as:

16. Independent A---B---C---D---E Dependent

Dependent-Independent

17. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Dependent-Independent

18. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

The relationship I have with my friends could be described as:

19. Communicative A---B---C---D---E Noncommunicative

Communicative-Noncommunicative



20. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Communicative-Noncommunicative

21. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

As I think back on my school days, my teachers' attitudes toward me could be described as:

22. Accepting A---B---C---D---E Rejecting

Accepting-Rejecting

23. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable (at any given time)

Accepting-Rejecting

24. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular (from one time to another)

As I think back on my school days, I would describe my relationships with my teachers as being:

25. Independent A---B---C---D---E Dependent

Dependent-Independent

26. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Dependent-Independent

27. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular

As I think back on my school days, the relationship I had with my teachers could be described as:

28. Communicative A---B---C---D---E Noncommunicative

Communicative-Noncommunicative

29. Consistent A---B---C---D---E Unpredictable

Communicative-Noncommunicative

30. Continuous A---B---C---D---E Irregular



APPENDIX C  
ADDITIONAL SCALES



## SOCIOLOGICAL INDICES

## 1. Age

- a. 18
- b. 19
- c. 20
- d. 21
- e. older

## 2. Year of university

- a. 1st
- b. 2nd
- c. 3rd
- d. 4th
- e. higher

## 3. Exposure to ideas

## a. Geographic mobility

How many times have your parents moved, with your family, a distance of at least 500 miles?

- a. no time
- b. one time
- c. two times
- d. three times
- e. four or more times

## b. How many times have you travelled outside of Canada?

- a. none
- b. once
- c. twice
- d. three times
- e. more than three times

## c. How much time have you spent outside of Canada?

- a. less than a month
- b. one to six months
- c. six months to one year
- d. two to three years
- e. more than three years



- d. In the first fourteen years of your life did you live mainly in a:
- a. Rural area
  - b. town of less than 5,000
  - c. town of 5,000 - 35,000
  - d. city of 35,000 - 100,000
  - e. city of over 100,000
4. Father's annual income
- a. less than \$5,999
  - b. \$6000 - \$9,999
  - c. \$10,000 - \$24,999
  - d. \$25,000 - \$50,000
  - e. \$50,000 or more
5. Mother's level of education
- a. never attended school
  - b. grade school
  - c. high school
  - d. technical or trade school
  - e. university
6. Father's level of education
- a. never attended school
  - b. grade school
  - c. high school
  - d. technical or trade school
  - e. university
7. Sex of subject
- a. Male
  - b. Female
8. Marital Status
- a. Married
  - b. Unmarried, separated, or divorced
10. Social mobility
- a.
    - i. I would describe my parents as being social climbers
    - ii. I would not describe my parents as being social climbers



b.

What is the present occupation of your father?

- ( ) Professional: self-employed  
( ) Business executive  
( ) Professional salaried (Includes teachers, law enforcement officers, military officers, etc.)  
( ) Business proprietors  
( ) Skilled laborer  
( ) Clerical worker  
( ) Farmer, rancher, miner, fisherman  
( ) Semi-skilled worker  
( ) Unskilled laborer  
( ) Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

What was your father's occupation when you were born?

- ( ) Professional: self employed  
( ) Business executive  
( ) Professional salaried (Includes teachers, law enforcement officers, military officers, etc.)  
( ) Business proprietors  
( ) Skilled laborer  
( ) Clerical worker  
( ) Farmer, rancher, miner, fisherman  
( ) Semi-skilled worker  
( ) Unskilled laborer  
( ) Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

11. Political and Social Activity

a. Have you ever worked in a political campaign?

- ( ) Yes  
( ) No

If yes, what party did you work for? \_\_\_\_\_

b. How many organizations or clubs do you belong to on campus (fraternity, sorority, N.D.Y., S.D.U., Campus Conservatives, Newman Club, etc.)?

- ( ) None  
( ) One or two  
( ) Three or four  
( ) Five or more



## MACH V

## DIRECTIONS

You will find 20 groups of statements on the next pages. Each group lists 3 opinions--not matters of fact--about people or things in general. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers, and different people will agree (or disagree) with different ones.

Read all 3 statements in each group before marking anything. Then, first put a plus sign (+) next to the one you agree with most or that is most true.

After that, put a zero (0) next to the statement of the two left that is most false or that you disagree with most.

For example:

- A. It is easy to persuade people but hard to keep them persuaded.
- +     B. Theories that don't agree with common sense are a waste of time.
- 0     C. It is sensible to go along with what other people are doing and not be too different.

You can see that the person answering felt that B was most true (or he agreed with it most.) And he did not agree with A and C as much. But C was the one he disagreed with most (or felt was least true.)

You will find some choices easy to make. Others will be harder. But do not fail to make a choice in every case, no matter how hard.

You will mark 2 of the three statements in each group--but please put no mark next to the remaining statement.

Do not omit any groups of statements!

If any questions come up, please ask the instructor giving out the questionnaire.

Think about your answers, but work as quickly as possible, please.

1.     A. It takes more imagination to be a successful criminal than a successful businessman.
- B. The phrase "the road to hell is paved with good intentions" contains a lot of truth.
- C. Most men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their property.



2.       A. Men are more concerned with the car they drive than with the clothes their wives wear.  
      B. It is very important that imagination and creativity in children be cultivated.  
      C. People suffering from incurable disease should have the choice of being put to death painlessly.
3.       A. Never tell someone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.  
      B. The well-being of the individual is the goal that should be worked for before anything else.  
      C. Once a truly intelligent person makes up his mind about the answer to a problem he rarely continues to think about it.
4.       A. People are getting so lazy and self-indulgent that it is bad for the country.  
      B. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.  
      C. It would be a good thing if people were kinder to others less fortunate than themselves.
5.       A. Most people are basically good and kind.  
      B. The best criterion for a wife or husband is compatibility; other characteristics are nice but not essential.  
      C. Only after a man has gotten what he wants from life should he concern himself with the injustices in the world.
6.       A. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.  
      B. Any man worth his salt shouldn't be blamed for putting his career above his family.  
      C. People would be better off if they were less concerned with how to do things and more with what to do.
7.       A. A good teacher is one who points out unanswered questions rather than giving explicit answers.  
      B. When you ask someone to do something for you it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than reasons which might carry more weight.  
      C. A person's job is the best single guide as to the sort of person he is.
8.       A. The construction of such monumental works as the pyramids of Egypt was worth the enslavement of the workers who built them.  
      B. Once a way of handling problems has been worked out, it is best to stick to it.  
      C. One should take action only when sure that it is morally right.



9.        A. The world would be a better place to live in if people would let the future take care of itself and concern themselves just with enjoying the present.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. It is wise to flatter important people.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. Once a decision has been made, it is best to keep changing it as new circumstances comes up.
10.      A. It is a good policy to act as if you are doing the things you do because you have no other choice.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid enough to get caught.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. Even the most hardened and vicious criminal has a spark of decency somewhere in him.
11.      A. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. A man who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding in whatever he wants to do.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. If a thing doesn't help us in our daily lives, it isn't very important.
12.      A. A person shouldn't be punished for breaking a law he thinks is unreasonable.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. Too many criminals are not punished for their crimes.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. There is no excuse for lying to someone else.
13.      A. Generally, men won't work hard unless they are forced to do so.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. Every person is entitled to a second chance, even after he commits a serious mistake.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. People who can't make up their minds aren't worth bothering about.
14.      A. A man's first responsibility is to his wife, not to his mother.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. Most men are brave.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. It's best to pick friends who are intellectually stimulating rather than ones it is comfortable to be around.
15.      A. There are very few people in the world worth concerning one's self about.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. A capable person, motivated for his own gain, is more useful to society than a well-meaning but ineffective one.
16.      A. It is best to give others the impression you can change your mind easily.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. It is a good policy to stay on good terms with everyone.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. Honesty is the best policy in all cases.
17.      A. It is possible to be good in all respects.  
      \_\_\_\_ B. To help oneself is good--to help others is even better.  
      \_\_\_\_ C. War and threats of war are unchangeable facts of human life.



18.     A. Barnum was probably right when he said that there  
          is at least one sucker born every minute.  
       B. Life is pretty dull unless one deliberately stirs  
          up some excitement.  
       C. Most people would be better off if they controlled  
          their emotions.
19.     A. Sensitivity to the feelings of others is worth more  
          than poise in social situations.  
       B. The ideal society is one where everybody knows his  
          place and accepts it.  
       C. It is safest to assume that all people have a  
          vicious streak, and it will come out when they are  
          given a chance.
20.     A. People who talk about abstract problems usually don't  
          know what they are talking about.  
       B. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking  
          for trouble.  
       C. It is essential for the functioning of a democracy  
          that everyone vote.









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